

BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY'S
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THE DIARY OF SARAH FOX
née CHAMPION

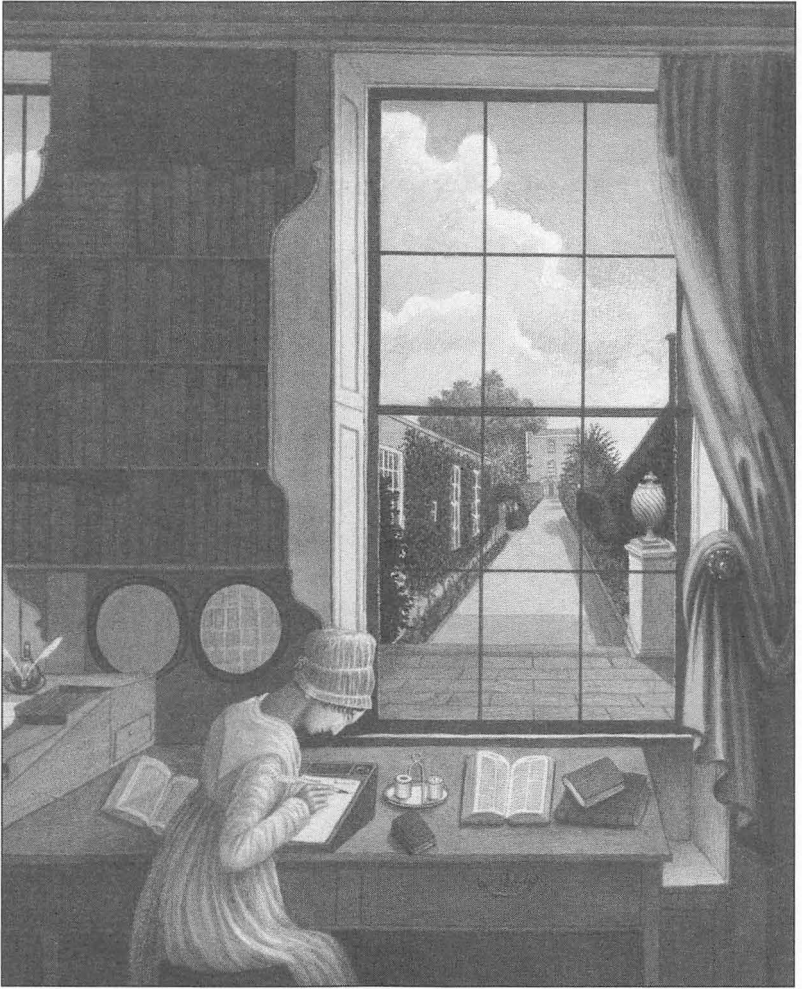
BRISTOL 1745-1802

EXTRACTED IN 1872 BY JOHN FRANK

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PUBLICATIONS

General Editors: MADGE DRESSER
PETER FLEMING
ROGER LEECH

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This watercolour is thought to have been painted circa 1806 by Thomas Pole, the American Quaker reformer who came to settle in Bristol about this period. It portrays a member of his family (probably one of his daughters) at her desk at 14 St James's Square, Bristol. Through the window one can see the property's garden and summer house. From her diary it is evident that Sarah Fox knew the Pole family well and had inhabited the same house before she was widowed.

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née CHAMPION

BRISTOL 1745-1802

EXTRACTED IN 1872 BY JOHN FRANK

EDITED BY

MADGE DRESSER

Published by

BRISTOL RECORD SOCIETY

2003

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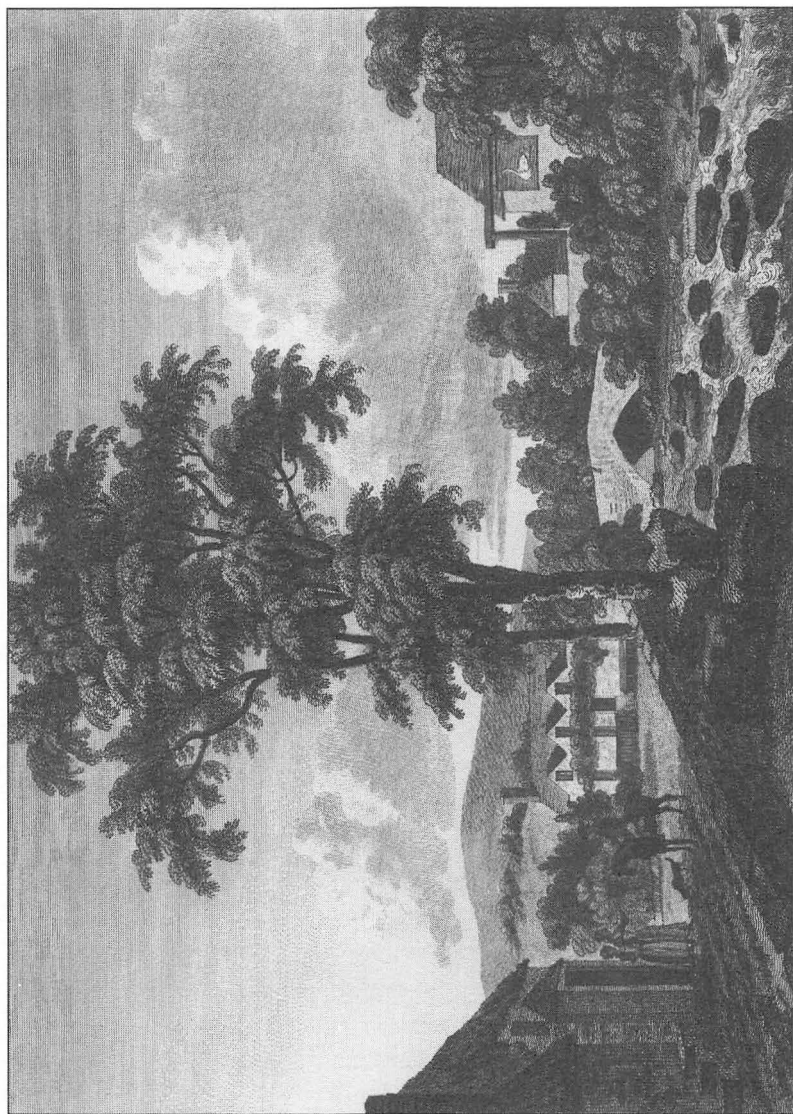
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Ivy Bridge, Devon
Published 1780

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ABBREVIATIONS

BRO	Bristol Record Office
CBD	Chambers' Biographical Dictionary (1897)
CC	Champion Correspondence (on microfilm at the BRO)
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography (1885-1903)
MM	Monthly Meeting (of the Society of Friends)
SRO	Somerset Record Office
TGBAS	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society

EDITORIAL NOTE

Care has been taken to change as little of the original manuscript as possible. The only substantive omissions have been references to specific page numbers in the original manuscript. Original spellings have been used throughout and explanatory notes variously supplied by both Sarah Champion Fox and her original editor, John Frank, have been kept, but placed at the bottom of the page as footnotes.

Different types of brackets have been employed in the diary extracts in order to differentiate between the various comments made by the diary's author and her subsequent editors.

Thus:

Sarah Fox's notes are enclosed in parentheses: (— —);

John Frank's comments are enclosed in simple brackets: [— —];

Madge Dresser's comments are enclosed in curly brackets: {— —}.

Sarah Champion married Charles Fox late in life, and is referred to as Sarah Champion or Sarah Fox depending on the time of her life under discussion. It has not always been possible to distinguish accurately between various people having the same name: further research is needed on the relatives and the immediate descendants of Richard Champion (1743-1791).

INTRODUCTION

Sarah Champion Fox (1742-1811) lived for most of her life in Bristol. She is best known as the sister of Richard Champion, a porcelain manufacturer and partner with the pioneering chemist William Cookworthy and political agent for the then Whig politician Edmund Burke.¹ Sarah Champion was part of her brother's social circle and had a considerable one of her own. She knew a number of the movers and shakers of the late eighteenth century including the evangelist John Wesley, the writer Hannah More and the anti-slavery campaigner Thomas Clarkson. She was on intimate terms with some leading business families of her time: the Frys (chocolate), the Galtons (guns) and the Lloyds (banking) and she knew many more whose names mean little to us today, but who were influential in their time.

On her death, Sarah Fox, as she had then become, reportedly left forty volumes of closely written journals behind her. All that apparently remains of this prodigious source is a 500 page manuscript of 'extracts'.² These were made in 1872 by John Frank (1809-1900), a schoolmaster and editor of the Quaker magazine, *The Friend*, whose father and grandfather had known the Champions well.³ A fair copy of this manuscript resides in the Bevan-Naish collection at Woodbrooke College, near Birmingham, and it is this document which has been transcribed and annotated for the present volume. Reference has also been made to another virtually identical copy of the extracts which was donated to Friends House Library in London in 1916. This seems to have been copied by Richard Ball Rutter of Bristol who was himself a descendant of a friend of the Champions.⁴ Richard Ball Rutter professed that 'when he first saw the diary he at once fell in love with its author'.⁵

Rutter's declaration affirms both the fascination and the frustration this document provokes: fascination, because it illuminates aspects of eighteenth century history which would otherwise have been lost to history; frustration, because what we see has been mediated not only by the gaze of the author herself, but by the narrower lens of her Victorian male editor.

To use another metaphor, there are many silences in this text, and we simply do not know why or to whom they are due. Is, for example, the lack of any direct reference to the French Revolution due to Fox's indifference to it at the time or might she have censored such references towards the end of her life when there was a political backlash against all forms of political radicalism? Or perhaps such omissions were due to John Frank expunging the text of anything that might be uncongenial to *his* intended audience of Victorian Quakers?⁶ By the same token, we

might more confidently ascribe the lack of virtually any mention of clothes in her diary to the Quaker disapproval of extravagant fashion, but why is there is nothing about the day to day practicalities of food and laundry, of shops visited or sheets mended? Was that because Sarah Fox left this all to the servants, who are themselves only rarely mentioned, or because John Frank thought such things too trivial and mundane to be of interest?

Be that as it may, history has to make do with what evidence survives, and as sources go, this is a still a very rich one. If Sarah Champion's letters⁷ are more revealing about her personal feelings, showing a playful and spirited side to her only hinted at in the diary, they are relatively few in number. We do not know if others were destroyed by relatives but the ones surviving in the major Champion correspondence were written when she was young and they seemed to have been copied out by her own, older, more censorious self.⁸ It is left to her diary to inform us about her marriage, at the age of 48, to a Plymouth widower, the banker Charles Fox, and give us a sustained picture of her life-long comings and goings, her religious belief and the wealth of friends, relatives, acquaintances and associates who formed her coterie. This is the first time this document has ever been published.

Although her diary occasionally bears witness to great political events and touches on the lives of the famous, her usual concerns are more modestly focused. Though a life-long member of the Society of Friends, Sarah Fox's name appears only intermittently in the minutes of the Bristol Women's Monthly meetings, and were it not for the diary, one might wrongly conclude she was a marginal member of the city's tightly-organised and largely prosperous Quaker community. In fact the Bristol Quaker who sent the Rutter manuscript to London in 1916 thought no one in her city would be interested in it, since its author had no descendants and the diary contained 'few incidents of particular importance in it'.⁹ It is true that the picture the diary affords us is painted on a relatively small canvas, but it spans a full and multi-layered life. It begins with her troubled childhood and an often anxious young adulthood, through to a late and apparently companionable marriage followed by a tragically premature widowhood. It ends only at the beginning of an infirm old age. The diary's ultimate purpose, as Felicity Nussbaum has argued about Quaker women's autobiographies in general, may well have had as much to do with the presentation of an idealized self as with any unvarnished or intimate revelations.¹⁰ But we can still glean much of significance from it by reading between the lines.

This is no standard spiritual memoir. Although it often seems to have been written retrospectively, it is not structured according to the usual trajectory of the published testimonials which Quaker women in this period have left. It neither begins nor ends with a conversion and though it is often reflective, asserting a consistency of selfhood which is itself a construction, there is no final epiphany characteristic of the genre.¹¹ Membership of a Dissenting sect, with its emphasis on Bible reading, encouraged literacy even amongst women in this period at a time when it is estimated that less than half the female population could read and write. Such groups also encouraged the publication of testimonials of both sexes in order to 'spread the spiritual word'. Sarah Fox clearly read some of these testimonials and seems at times to have adapted aspects of their style. The usual purposes of such a diary can all be discerned here. These were:

...to monitor the writer's interior and spiritual life, make sure one's outer deportment is brought into line with one's spiritual values, and so offer a

testament to the progress of the Inner Light that could serve as a model for other seekers.¹²

But her own particular motives for writing her journal seem to have included a more personal dimension: she enjoyed writing. She had learned to write by the age of nine, and as her teenage self told her brother:

When I am left alone, [writing] is my principal employment and I am very well pleas'd to find that my favourite amusement carries so much Instruction with it and that whilst I am pursuing pleasure.¹³

Indeed the portion of the diary covering the years up to 1784 appears to have been compiled for her brother Richard to take with him when he left Bristol for America that same year.¹⁴ It is clearly based largely on notes or journal entries made at the time the events described took place. Although religious belief is a constant theme, it is not the only one. The recurring motifs of death and salvation are present throughout the whole of the surviving extracts, it is true, but they are woven into a detailed record of her quotidian experience.

Compared to other memorials left by Bristol women in this period, its distinctiveness becomes more apparent. Sarah Champion Fox's narrative is far more intellectually cultivated and rational than that of Sarah Ryan's life which appeared as a published account in John Wesley's *Arminian Magazine*. And if Sarah Fox's diary shares the flair and sophistication of the Moravian Leonore Knapp's autobiography in stylistic terms, it retains more of a sense of self respect. Whereas Knapp's spiritual travels end in total submission to her censorious Moravian minister,¹⁵ Sarah Fox by contrast never relinquishes her spiritual autonomy in that way. She avoids the sustained self-abnegation which make the published memoirs of her friend, the Wesleyan Elizabeth Johnson, or another Wesleyan Rachel Tucker, so unrelentingly dreary,¹⁶ and does not employ the sensuous imagery Moravian and Methodist women typically used to describe their relationship with Jesus, indeed, Jesus's name is mentioned less than a dozen times in the whole document. Doctrinally, Sarah Fox's diary has most in common with the published diary of her fellow Friend Catherine Phillips,¹⁷ which chronicles the impressive international travels of its intrepid author. But unlike Phillips, Sarah Fox is not a minister and if Phillips records more about her general domestic details, Sarah Fox is more rooted in a particular city. One of the attractions of the Fox diary, then, is its individuality, another is its sense of place. But the glimpses it affords are not only of Georgian Bristol but of the social life and mentalité of provincial Englishwomen generally. How typical Sarah Fox is of her era or her sex remains an open question, but we can begin to attempt to answer it by placing her firmly in her historical context.

Certainly, Sarah Champion Fox led a relatively privileged life. The Champions were members of the Society of Friends (i.e. the Quakers), the largest Dissenting group in England. The Bristol Quakers were, by the eighteenth century, relatively prosperous and the Champion family, along with the Lloyds, the Goldneys and the Harfords, had been the largest subscribers to the Bristol congregation in the middle of the century.¹⁸ Yet to categorise Sarah Champion or her family simply as members of 'the middling' or 'upper-middling ranks' does not do full justice to the difficult material circumstances which they experienced nor to the role which religion, gender and premature death played in mediating their class position. Sarah's grandparents' generation of Quakers were only just recovering from the intense

political persecution the Society of Friends had suffered in Britain up until 1696.¹⁹ Even during the early eighteenth century, Quakers' goods were still being routinely distrained in consequence of their refusing to pay Church tithes, and throughout Sarah's life, they were prohibited from attending university or from holding political office. It is true that her paternal grandfather Richard Champion was a successful soapmaker, member of the Bristol Brass Company and contributor to Abraham Darby's early iron works, and that his second marriage in 1711 to the devout and well-respected American Quaker Ester Palmer, was probably to his material advantage. But all this did not guarantee their children a comfortable life, for both husband and wife died from disease three years after their marriage leaving their new born son Joseph (Sarah's father) and his two year old sister (her Aunt Sarah) as orphans. Both siblings were evidently well-provided for financially, but both, perhaps as a result of their early misfortune, appear to have been troubled and difficult people throughout their lives. Joseph grew up to be a merchant of some substance, and his marriage to Elizabeth Rogers, the daughter of a prosperous Quaker family from Frenchay,²⁰ at first promised a more settled family life. But this too was cut short. Three years later, Elizabeth was to die from a tubercular fever. The three children of their union were Sarah, the author of this diary, Richard and Esther Champion. As we shall see, they too suffered early in life in both material and emotional terms.

The focus on death, always a stock pre-occupation in accounts of this period, is more than evident here. Sarah first attended a death bed when she was nineteen and, as is common in women's journals of this era, chronic illness, epidemics, fatal accidents and long declines are assiduously recorded. Not surprisingly, love and the inevitability of its loss, is a theme that gathers momentum as she reaches middle age and witnesses the deaths of more and more of her contemporaries. But this preoccupation also had much to do with the events of her childhood: the early loss of her mother, her consequent separation from her beloved siblings and her estrangement from her enigmatically-drawn but clearly irascible father. Certainly, when Sarah Champion speaks as she does about the vicissitudes of life and of the trials faced by young motherless women, one feels she is speaking from the heart of personal experience. Her letters confirm this. At twenty she plaintively asked her cousin and confidant Sukey, 'Why was I not permitted to enjoy a mother's constant care?' And a decade later in 1772 the same chord is struck by her confession to another correspondent that she still often felt herself 'in need of a mother's care'.²¹ Undoubtedly, the intense, ever-present affection she felt for her family and close friends, in particular her younger siblings Richard and Esther, and her cousin Sukey Rogers, inform the diary with a poignancy that is most clearly revealed when they are lost to her.

Both as a child and as a grown woman, Sarah's economic security was at times uncertain, or at least dependent on the patronage of others. When her newly-widowed father decamped from Bristol a year after her mother's death to London, Sarah was taken in by her maternal grandmother. (Her younger brother and sister were left to a nurse in the Wiltshire town of Westbury until they were eight and six respectively.) Although Esther later joined her grandmother's household, Richard was sent to London to stay with his father, much to his sisters' distress. Up until his re-marriage to a young widow when Sarah was-eight, Sarah saw her father once or twice a year, and his relations with his mother-in-law were tense. When the latter

died, Sarah, then nine, and her sister were split up again, staying with two different aunts, Esther with her mother's sister and Sarah with her father's. By now, her father's attentions seemed focused on his eldest son and Sarah's new half-brother Joseph. On the plus side, her father's half-brothers Nehemiah and Richard 'Gospel' Champion, both Quaker merchants, kept in contact with Sarah and her siblings and may have provided them with financial support.²² It was not until she was seventeen years old that she came to stay for a short time in her father's London household. It is clear that her father and his new wife were part of a more sophisticated and worldly set than her Bristol relatives. Sarah was amazed by London, by its lamplights and its bustle, but ambivalent too. Her not altogether convincing disavowal of the theatre there shows her to have been both shocked and intrigued by the gaiety to which she had been exposed. She clearly expressed her distaste for the spiritual and emotional atmosphere at her father's house. Was it mere priggishness, an adolescent's resentment of a remarried father or deeper family dysfunction which caused her to write the following journal entry?

Much as I loved my brother nothing could compensate for the disagreeable things I met with in a six weeks' visit. Every day produced some new scene of confusion, quarrelling and a neglect of attending places of worship, paying no regard to the Sabbath, never reading scriptures, and profaning the most sacred names by a wonton {wanton} use. These and many other things made me earnestly wish to return home.²³

Sarah then returned to stay with her Aunt Lloyd who first lived in the Castle Green in Bristol's centre and later at a country house in Stoke Bishop, then less than three miles to the northwest of the city. In 1762, she records excitedly that her adored brother was dispatched by his father back to Bristol to learn a trade with their uncle Richard 'Gospel' Champion.

It seems likely that Sarah was financially dependent on her father. His attempt to impose an uncongenial marriage settlement on her sister reminds us that fathers remained their children's legal guardian until their marriage. He also fell into a 'violent' rage over his son Richard's elopement at the age of twenty-one with Sarah's girlhood friend Judy Lloyd (no relation to her aunt). This leads us to wonder whether he continued to support Sarah financially after she went to live with Richard and his wife. There seems to have been some sort of break with her father possibly around this time as decades later she bitterly describes having just discovered a cache of angry letters from her father whose existence had long been kept from her 'out of kindness' by some protective relative.²⁴ Unmarried women from the 'genteel' end of the middling ranks had very limited options for supporting themselves independently. In some cases fathers might arrange independent financial provision for their daughters as part of a marriage settlement, but these were usually administered by male trustees, not the daughter herself. Unmarried women had less chance of such provisions being made. By the latter half of the eighteenth century, single women could lose their social status by working outside the home and even when circumstances forced them to do so, they could rarely earn a living wage.²⁵

As Richard Champion grew to become well established in Bristol — being admitted to the mercantile elite when he joined the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1767 — he was able to maintain a house in the commercial district of Castle Green,

near his porcelain manufactory, and a summer residence in Henbury, about five miles to the northwest of Bristol. A number of the wealthier Quakers seem to have acquired country residences near the city around this time: the Reeves, the Wrights, and the Harfords, to name a few. They attempted with other well-heeled Dissenters to live a more 'genteel' and polite lifestyle, but on their own terms. Yet though they distinguished themselves from the Squires, Sirs and Ladies of the traditional gentry by their austerity and spiritual discipline, some of their number, including Joseph Harford, began to drift towards Anglicanism. In any case, Sarah's social circle widened to include some prominent people outside the Society of Friends.²⁶ Visits with friends and relatives to the spa at Cheltenham further broadened her social horizons. They exposed her to the attractions of pretty dresses and flirtations with dissipated young officers, both of which proved briefly tempting, but made her as anxious as an Austen heroine about how to maintain propriety in such situations.²⁷ Such encounters with the upper echelons of provincial society continued as her brother became Edmund Burke's right hand man in Bristol's Parliamentary election of 1774, but her main core of acquaintances and friends remained the staunchly respectable Quakers.

Soon however, Richard Champion's economic position was to prove precarious and this must have made it more difficult for Sarah herself, particularly when Richard's business difficulties led him to leave the Society of Friends in 1778.²⁸ Her affairs were further affected six years later when his Richard and his wife and children left for Staffordshire before their emigration to England for South Carolina, where Champion ended as a 'gentleman farmer' of a slave plantation.²⁹ Distressed by their leaving, Sarah Champion takes comfort in the thought that 'Providence had mercifully provided me with another home'. That home seems to have been with her sister and her husband Phillip Debell Tuckett whom she calls at this point 'a real brother and a true friend'. Otherwise, Sarah makes no mention of any change in her material circumstances in the diary and her daily circle of acquaintances seem pretty much unchanged, suggesting that she did have some stipend from her father or a legacy from one of her other relatives. Yet though she is never forced to work or take financial assistance from the Society of Friends, one feels her social status must have to some extent been undermined by the circumstances and fact of her brother Richard's departure and her continued spinsterhood. The fact that her brother-in-law introduced her to the wealthy widower she eventually married at 45 is suggestive. Certainly Philip Debell Tuckett seemed more enthusiastic at the prospect of his sister-in-law's marriage she initially did herself. Her early reservations towards her suitor, Charles Fox, could not have been religious, since he too was a Quaker. She had once pronounced herself to have been discomfited by the emotions which love could evoke. But it is also clear that she was also tempted by the financial security marriage could provide. After all, the journal abounds with examples of the distress of genteel women of her acquaintance who found themselves through no fault of their own in 'reduced circumstances'.³⁰ Sarah's ambivalence about Fox is evident: 'I ardently desired,' she wrote in her journal shortly before her acceptance of his proposal, '*that no prospect of worldly ease on the one hand nor timidity on the other might influence my decision*' (emphasis added).³¹

Sarah's views on marriage and female propriety at once confirm and confound the stereotype we have of the genteel Georgian lady. Her youthful letters and diary

entries written in the 1760s and early 1770s show her to have a playful and even passionate side. She admits as a teenager to have been obsessed by novel reading though she later condemns it as a destructive habit and cautions others against it. We do not know which novels she read, since the only reading matter mentioned in the edited extracts (besides the Bible) are the testimonials and sermons of Quaker notables and works favoured by the evangelicals who by this time had so influenced the older Dissenting denominations like the Quakers: e.g. William Cowper, Edward Young and William Law. Nevertheless, the novels also left their mark on Sarah. Although the influence of literary convention on personal writing is notoriously hard to assess, there is more than a touch of Richardson's *Clarissa* about the early entries. As she later confessed in her journal, at fifteen 'to write *sentimentally* was one of my favourite amusements' (emphasis added).³²

Her romantic inclinations were always tempered by prudence and her Quaker beliefs. Even at her most light-hearted, the tensions between her youthful exuberance, the demands of polite society and the values of her sober up-bringing come through as they do in the following passage from her letter to a cousin written when she was in her early twenties:

{At Cheltenham} we are grown very smart — Six old maids, who all make as brilliant an appearance as fine cloaths can give them — yet it is melancholy to observe the most amicable quality of age lost in affectation of youth and folly.³³

Here Sarah's humour implicitly alludes to the anxiety women then felt about growing into 'old maids'.³⁴ Although Quaker women married later than their non-Quaker counterparts in this period, she knew her prospects for marriage would contract as she grew older.³⁵ Her more high-minded self was suspicious of the boons which youth and beauty might secure and longed for the emotional detachment which more advanced years were supposed to bring. She herself admits, that whilst in the bloom of 'giddy youth', she fell in love with her un-named tutor. And though her feelings were never made explicit to him, the episode left its mark. This unsatisfactory encounter, and there are hints in the diary of at least one such more, seemed to have made her all the more unconfident and defensive about love: 'I cannot shine on this subject', she laments.³⁶

On more than one occasion in her letters and diary, she questions the wisdom of marriages arranged by parents for reasons of financial security and social prestige.³⁷ 'The want of happiness in the marriage state,' she pronounced to William Logan when she was in her mid twenties, 'firmly proceeds from a wrong choice'.³⁸ She was particularly appalled when a young girl she knew was sent off to Bengal for an arranged marriage:

I really believe her mother loves her but it is the hope of seeing her child what is called well settled in the world that has prevailed upon her to part with her at so tender an age — amazing that the power of Gold and the hope of it can work such an effect-should get the better of a mother's feelings — the person in question is only fourteen years of age.³⁹

And although she was timorous of defying her father's opposition to her brother's courtship of Judy Lloyd, she played a coyly arch role in their elopement, urging their caution, but obviously relishing their romance.⁴⁰

She also paid lip service to the ideal of female meekness and wifely submission, especially when it applied to erring acquaintances. She could sound quite prissy by modern standards about the importance of maintaining a respectable appearance to society and she certainly dismisses physical attraction, or what she calls 'susceptibility', as a foundation for relationships. When her friend Elizabeth Dickenson falls from grace for some unspecified sexual transgression, she professes to have lost respect for her, though primly expressing the 'tenderest pity' for Dickenson's subsequent plight.⁴¹

At one level then, she has clearly internalised the increasingly restrictive notions of proper 'feminine' conduct then prevailing, yet she seemed less than enthusiastic about submitting her own will to that of a husband. Up until the very day of her own marriage, she consistently displays a real ambivalence about her suitability for matrimony. As she mused in one letter to her sister 'Hetty' (Esther):

How far a woman ought to give up her judgement to her husband's inclination is not for me to determine—I am sure I ardently wish I never may be connected with one, who may require of me anything I think inconsistent with my peace.⁴²

Her intellectual interests in education, science and writing did not easily square with running a household, or tending to the whims and wants of a provincial male, particularly 'the genus' of Bristol man.⁴³ But it is clear that Sarah Fox was not adverse to the male sex *per se*. Her reaction to an apparently lesbian couple she met suggests that whilst she admired their intelligence, she did not share their sexual inclinations.

...I drank tea with J. Gumbleton and M. Shields. They have both a masculine appearance, the latter in particular and would be agreeable if they were in reality what they mimick, it is easy to perceive they have both fine sense, tho' they spoke little.⁴⁴

Although she did not explicitly challenge patriarchal norms, at least as they were mediated by the Quakers, she realised she simply did not fit comfortably within them. She adopts a humorous tone about her marriage prospects in the following letter to her sister, applying scientific metaphors to domestic ideals to comic effect. But the subtext is darker. If a worthy mate who wants an intellectual soulmate rather than a domestic angel fails to materialize, she will remain a spinster. In other words, her integrity as an individual will cost her the male companionship she craves.

Tho' I do not lead a very important Life, I am, as my Aunt L{loyd} says "purdigously engaged" more than I wd always chuse to be...I still retain a remembrance on which finger to put my thimble and am morally sure...I can darn with any person on the terrestrial globe — nor are my excellencies in the Pastry way lost, tho' just now under an Eclipse, yet I hope will shine through with additional Lustre, as to getting a Bristol Husband, between ourselves, I do not desire it because I wish to be both a companion and Housekeeper to a man of Sense, whom I hope I shall be ready, both in words and actions; to acknowledge my superior, for I have sense enough to know my inferiority in judgement and solidity and understanding to a man of even common plain abilities and that the proper place for a woman to shine in, is in the management of her Family, — but there are so few men one meets that possess sensibility and manly tenderness, and so very improbable that amongst those few one should

fall to my Lott that perhaps I am happier in my present situation....it may be called Pride it may be called folly —“Romance”— but indeed without such a man I cannot be happy in the marriage state.⁴⁵

With her friends she strikes a less worried pose, so that when one eligible Bristol suitor decides to marry another woman, she affects not to mind, saying of her rival that:

...one might be almost tempted to envy her such a man—tho' I am not disappointed and was going to say that had I the liberty of chusing thro' the whole world I believe I should remain single....⁴⁶

And if she appears to condemn a young man of her acquaintance for rejecting matrimony and preferring the ‘dirt of low life to a silver collar and a pleasant parlour’⁴⁷ — her choice of language is revealing, for the only people to wear silver collars in eighteenth-century England were African slaves. Her choice of metaphor is all the more striking when one considers that marriage then posed far more of a threat to women’s liberty than it did to men’s. Married women normally had no rights either to the property they brought to the marriage or any earnings they made after it, unless special marriage settlements were drawn up on their behalf. Like the enslaved African, they were legally deemed to be the property of their masters and could be physically chastised and separated from their children at his behest.⁴⁸ There was no legal recognition of either the rape of a married Englishwoman or the rape of an enslaved African woman by her legal master. Such parallels between Englishwomen and enslaved Africans would surface as a poetic trope used by many in the eighteenth century, including the Bristol-born poet Mary Robinson,⁴⁹ and one suspects that they were not lost on Sarah Champion.

In one of her early letters, the young Sarah Champion distinguishes between four types of regard: esteem, susceptibility, love and friendship.⁵⁰ The first she deems as worthy and consonant with her ethical principles; the second, based as it is on physical attraction, she dismisses as dangerous. She finds the third category, love, i.e. earthly love and marriage, both attractive and problematic. Even parental love had its drawbacks not the least because of its possible loss through death or estrangement. She once wrote to new parents warning them against loving their child too much since its likely removal (in those days of high infant mortality) would prove all the more devastating if they did.⁵¹ It was not that Sarah Champion Fox disliked children, she was a doting aunt and tender-hearted towards the children of the poor. But she invokes the notion of heavenly love, eternal and indestructible, as her one true solace, as did so many religious women writers of her era. As for her own marriage, this, when it finally came, seemed more companionable than passionate, a prime candidate for what Amanda Vickery has called the perfect genteel alliance, being both prudent and affectionate.⁵² Even this union seemed to be grounded in that category of earthly regard which Sarah Fox most valued: friendship.

For it was friendship and sociability which were, along with her Quakerism, the cornerstones upon which Sarah Fox’s life was built. Most of her early family and friends met at the Quaker meeting house and at each others’ residences. Her journal entry for 1761 first mentions drinking tea socially and the ritual of taking tea or drinking tea with people appears over 300 times thereafter. She always maintained that ‘a social life is best suited to social beings’ and preferable to genteel isolation in

a country house. She alludes on more than one occasion to the happy image of sitting around a cosy fire and talking with friends.

The word 'friend' (as opposed to 'Friend' as in 'Society of Friends') has various meanings in this period. It can allude not only to acquaintances with whom one has an emotional attachment, but to protectors and advisors who act on one's behalf, including members of one's extended family. Sarah Fox's friends were of both varieties, but the former predominated though the distinction is further complicated by the fact that her closest friends were her sister Esther (Hetty), her brother Richard, her sister-in-law Julia (Judy) Lloyd and her cousin Sukey Rogers. She liked and often deferred to her male friends, who were almost exclusively Quaker; as a young woman especially, she looks up to some of the male ministers in her Society such as Thomas Rutter, who retains a place in her affections throughout her life. But she had some particularly close friendships with other educated women. In her thirties, she formed a close friendship with Sarah Farley, the Quaker editor of Bristol's leading newspaper. By the 1780s, when denominational differences amongst non-conformists mattered less, the evangelicals such as Hannah More and Elizabeth Johnson also figure in her entries, along with Anna Fry the wife of the chocolate manufacturer Joseph Fry and various other female Friends.

Sarah Fox travelled frequently around the West Country as a young and middle-aged woman usually to see fellow Quakers and family, but sometimes to sightsee. She visited Longleat to see Lord Weymouth's 'menagerie', Kingsweston to see Lord de Clifford's 'good paintings', and the Hermitage at Bath to see Philip Thicknesse's gardens.

She was uneasy about leaving British shores after a particularly unnerving sea voyage to the Isle of Wight. Happiest on *terra firma*, she travelled by chaise, coach, foot and horseback and boat. She went not only to London and Cheltenham, but to Taunton, Plymouth, Southampton and through the smaller villages of Somerset, Gloucestershire, Devon and Cornwall. (The picture of Ivy Bridge, near Plymouth, reproduced in this volume, gives some idea of the kind of roads she traversed.) Her dramatic account of a coach accident which befell her reminds us that such travel could be dangerous.⁵³ It was certainly often uncomfortable, as the passage below wryly indicates:

I have heard a stage-coach ride aptly compared to the journey of life. What we sometimes meet with in it is, at first, almost intolerable. We get better recovered to it by degrees, and still ? more comfort from the reflection that the end is approaching, perhaps by slow but certain steps.⁵⁴

Despite such sentiments, she clearly relished her independent travels. What is more she often travelled with male as well as female Society members. Her adventures widened her social circle and enabled her to stray outside the domestic sphere to which respectable ladies were increasingly supposed to be confined. It gave her a freedom of movement which many women outside Dissenting denominations would have envied. What Phyllis Mack observed for women Quaker ministers of this period also held true for Sarah Fox: namely that her 'social environment was considerably more spacious than that of most of her contemporaries.'⁵⁵

Although Sarah was not a minister (a Quaker term which did not indicate ordination but simply approval by a meeting), many, of her acquaintances, were.

According to her journal, it seems that both men and women preached and though the women most often preached at women-only meetings, she relates that Sarah Lynes (later Grubb) described elsewhere as 'the powerful Grubb that sounds her master's praise in streets in markets, prisons and highways',⁵⁶ and others did preach 'in publick' towards the end of the century. Women also published their sermons, thus putting them into the public arena. We know, for example, Catherine Phillips delivered a sermon at Quakers Friars which was later published as were other sermons given by female Friends at Bristol.⁵⁷ Thus Sarah Fox's spiritual life was one which was informed by a strong female network of guidance and support.

Travelling ministers of both sexes could find a ready welcome in any of the Quaker meeting houses whose network extended throughout Britain and Ireland, North America and the Caribbean. A surprising number of itinerant preachers or ministers came to Bristol. Most if not all of these names will be unknown to readers today and most were probably not much regarded outside Quaker circles in her own era. To the casual reader of this diary, they appear on first acquaintance as unexceptional, rather dull people. But once the identities of these people are investigated, a vibrant, often radical trans-Atlantic network of activists emerges, a surprising proportion of them female. Such wide-ranging investigation has of course been hugely facilitated by the employment of internet search engines, followed up and reinforced by further archival and text-based research. The resulting picture proves Sarah Fox's circle included female as well as male ministers, many of whom were widely-travelled, resourceful and actively involved in bearing witness to, if not overtly challenging, injustice.

These activists, it is no exaggeration to say, were extraordinary individuals who between them travelled with energy and focus throughout Britain, Ireland,⁵⁸ America, the Caribbean and continental Europe to bear witness to their faith. Many were connected by marriage, friendship or blood to other reformers. Catherine Peyton, whom Sarah Fox first met at Cheltenham spa, travelled in her twenties nearly 9,000 miles through America with her fellow minister Mary Peisley. (Their first-hand encounters with native Americans and enslaved Africans in North Carolina radicalised them and her critical observations on the institution of slavery feature in her published memoirs under her married name, Catherine Phillips.)⁵⁹ Phillips spent a good deal of time in Bristol and features many times in Sarah's diary. Another minister, Samuel Neale, whom Sarah greatly admired, was the husband of Phillips's early travelling companion Mary Peisley. Neale had been educated in Ireland at Ballitore, a Quaker school founded by the early abolitionist Abraham Shackleton. Sarah Fox recalls reading about him and knew his granddaughter Sarah Shackleton, who came, as her diary records, to preach at Quakers Friars in Bristol in 1798. (It was Sarah Shackleton's sister, the anti-slavery campaigner Mary Leadbeater, who had helped to urge another Ballitore old boy, Edmund Burke, into a more critical stance regarding the slave trade).

Two other close associates of Sarah Fox's turned their Caribbean experience into abolitionist fervour. One was Harry Gandy, a former slave captain who added his testimony to one of the world's first abolitionist pamphlets against the slave trade.⁶⁰ The other was Samuel Nottingham who had lived in the Caribbean. Nottingham, who spent six years in Bristol from 1779 to 1785, was exceptional amongst anti-slavery campaigners, not simply because he had owned slaves, as many Friends before him had done, not even because he legally freed his in 1776, but because he

gave his Tortola plantation to those he had liberated.⁶¹ Robert and Sarah Tuke Grubb and their fellow Friend Jean De Marsillac also feature in the journal. Sarah Grubb was a minister with connections to Ballitore.⁶² They attempted to set up an industrial/spiritual community in France after spending some time in America campaigning for the admission of African-Americans as full members of the Society of Friends with another Bristol visitor, Martha Routh (1743-1817).⁶³ Routh herself spent quite some time in the city as did Dr. Thomas Pole of New Jersey who was in the forefront of educational reform, a subject which much interested Sarah Fox.⁶⁴ This network of reformers overlapped uneasily with the many Bristol Quakers who had travelled abroad, in their capacity as merchants, a number of whom (including Richard Champion and John Lloyd, Judy Lloyd's brother) did so because of their vested interests in the slave trade or slave plantations. Sarah Champion Fox, as I have elsewhere discussed, had links with both merchants and abolitionists, and was won over to abolition by the late 1780s.⁶⁵ The fact that all these people came to Bristol confirms the city's status as an important Atlantic port and helps to explain its increasing cultural sophistication as the eighteenth century progressed.

Bristol in the 1760s and 1770s was a place of real intellectual ferment and cultural change. Scientific advances were celebrated by Quaker ministers⁶⁶ and exploited by Quaker manufacturers, including the Champions and the Frys. Sarah Fox's diary shows her to have shared some of this enthusiasm. Whilst in Bristol, she scanned the heavens with a telescope,⁶⁷ noted the transit of Venus, expressed intrigued scepticism about animal magnetism, and was literally shocked by an early electrical experiment. She recorded an early balloon flight from the city and gossiped about an experiment at Dr. Beddoes's pneumatic institute. Much has been written about Richard Champion's involvement in the new cultural developments⁶⁸ and it was partly through him that his sister was exposed to new ways of thinking. She attended a public lecture he had organised (probably on a medical topic), although she afterwards professed her initial reluctance to do so on the grounds of propriety, since it was commonly considered indecorous for young unmarried ladies to attend mixed-sex public events. Most significantly, her letters and diary record too that smallpox inoculations were routinely carried out in Bristol by the Quaker surgeon Abraham Ludlow as early as 1768,⁶⁹ nearly three decades before Jenner's famous (and safer) vaccinations. Some familial connection seems likely between Abraham Ludlow and Daniel Ludlow the apothecary from Chipping Sodbury to whom Edward Jenner was later apprenticed.

Richard Champion and a number of Quakers were involved in medical charities in Bristol, including the establishment of the Bristol Royal Infirmary and the Bristol Dispensary. The young Sarah Champion took a keen interest in this by the end of the century and was herself involved in a range of philanthropic bodies, including the Quaker workhouse, the 'Magdalen' or 'penitentiary' for seduced girls and the Bristol Blind School. She personally visited Newgate prison and like her brother was particularly concerned by the plight of the small debtors incarcerated there. Although her pronouncements about the poor sound to readers of our century annoyingly patronising, it is evident that Sarah Fox was much affected by the condition of the poor. She was constantly visiting the impoverished, the bereaved and the infirm. Her personal nursing of the dying twelve-year-old black servant, Ned; her clothing and feeding the destitute young urchin Sally Eady (with whom she

kept in close touch for many years); her real distress at the plight of the poor in general all show an undeniable tender-heartedness. This tender-heartedness was matched by more formal activity in her later years. She seems to have been on the management board of the Friends' school for the blind and became an official visitor to the Friends' Workhouse.

Her high-minded political views were never articulated publicly. But it seems clear that her politics, like that of the rest of the radical middle-classes, grew more conservative by the 1790s. (Many religious Dissenters who had at first welcomed the reforming breezes of French revolutionary reform quickly became horrified by the increasing violence and atheism of the new regime.)⁷⁰ Nevertheless, her early diary entries and letters reveal some decidedly independent perspectives. Unlike her brother Richard who was fascinated by naval military hardware (and who indeed got into trouble with the Friends for the defensive arming of one of his merchant ships), she loathed such things. When visiting a man-of-war in Southampton she reflected sadly thus:

...as I never seen anything of the kind before, my attention was much engaged by it — it is amazing to consider to what the art of man is equal — on viewing the fire arms I felt as I did in on a similar occasion at Plymouth, the most painful sensation — the reflections that there were such a variety of Instruments invented by men to destroy men, was to me shocking.⁷¹

As a young woman, Sarah Fox worried about the mistreatment of horses and wrote a witty but pointed letter that purported to be from a fish to a fisherman, 'on behalf of the fishes.' She abhorred duelling but 'couldn't help wishing' that one young gentleman on trial for his life for the offence might 'escape the punishment.' On a grimmer note, she appears toward the end of her life to have taken some comfort in the fact that her nephew in South Carolina died before he could be corrupted by his induction into his maternal uncle's slave-trading business.⁷²

Despite her high-mindedness, or perhaps because of it, Sarah Fox was not a radical in the popular sense. She early declared a sympathy for George II and condemned Bristolians' use of candles and fireworks as a disrespectful way of celebrating George III's (temporary) return to sanity. (In fact like most Quakers, she thought 'illuminations' a dangerous waste of money and mentions in passing that sections of the Bristol populace would vandalise Quaker premises for their refusal to illuminate their properties on such occasions). She shared the common perception of the colliers in nearby Kingswood as 'savage', at least until Wesley worked amongst them, and her sympathy for the economic plight of food rioters was tempered by her abhorrence of any kind of violence. She 'found nothing pleasing' about Ann Yearsley, 'the milkwoman poet of Clifton' probably, one suspects, because of Yearsley's lack of deference. As a widow, she refers to her servants on one occasions as her 'friends' but one wonders if they had quite the same view. She was, in these instances, a child of her time, class and religious profession.

But to end on such a note is to do less than justice to Sarah Fox. Sarah Fox speaks much about the vicissitudes of life and she had good reason to do so. She experienced so much bereavement, so much loss that it is little wonder that the troubled but lively-minded young girl whom we can see early on in her diary is not the quite the person whom we encounter towards its end. The diary's final sections make depressing reading but must have been more depressing to write. The older

self, though grateful for her earthly comforts and interested in new, more formalised, philanthropic endeavours, focuses increasingly on life's impending end. In part, this may have been inevitable as death caused her social circle to dwindle. This otherworldliness may have been encouraged by the invasion scares, food shortages and widespread disillusionment with the possibility of progressive reform. Options too for middle class women were in many respects becoming increasingly constrained as notions of proper feminine behaviour became more rigidly drawn. Throughout her life Sarah Champion Fox struggled to reconcile her intellectual and spiritual aspirations as an individual with what society expected of her. It was perhaps an impossible task but at least the diary that survives bears witness to her efforts.

NOTES

¹ Hugh Owen, *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol being the History of the Manufacture of 'the True Porcelain' by Richard Champion...*, (Gloucester: John Bellow, 1873); Deborah M. Olsen, 'Richard Champion and the Society of Friends', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. 102, (1984), pp. 173-195; P. T. Underdown, 'Burke's Bristol Friends,' *TBGAS*, vol. 77, (1958), esp. pp. 128-135.

² There are rumours that these forty volumes do still survive in private hands, but I have not as yet been able to trace them. If such rumours are true, then it is to be hoped that the publication of these extracts might encourage the present owners of the original diary to make it accessible to scholars.

³ The journal had originally been in the possession of Philip Debell Tuckett (1801-1872) of Frenchay (a relation of Sarah Champion Fox's brother-in-law). John Frank, who made the extracts, was the grandson of the Bristol China manufacturer Thomas Frank, and the son of Arnee Frank a pin manufacturer, both of whom appear in the extracts. Some parts of the original diary are published in *The Friend*, vol. 1, part iv (1874), pp. 72-73, a journal which he edited at the time. See Friends House Library, (hereafter FHL) catalogue entry under Diary of Sarah Fox. According to one source, the full diary was still extant in 1908. See Norman Penney's note on Sarah Champion Fox in E.T. Wedmore, 'Thomas Pole, M.D.', *Friends' Historical Society Journal Supplement*, no. 7 (1908), esp. pp. 44 and 45.

⁴ Most probably a descendant of Thomas Rutter, a long-time friend of Sarah Fox's.

⁵ Richard Ball Rutter, Notes for the manuscript of the extracts of Sarah Fox (1741-1811), presented by Mary Ann Tanner in 1916, FHL, MS Box D. Rutter describes himself as editor, but it appears he merely copied Frank's existing extracts.

⁶ In her entry for 25 December 1797 she remarks: "Much has been said of Revolutions, but the revolution of time is far more interesting to us all than that of any other—all around us is changeable."

⁷ Most of these letters can be found in the collection of the Champion Correspondence (hereafter CC) held at the Bristol Record Office (hereafter BRO).

⁸ A number of the letters are extracted into a digest which seems to be in some sort of chronological order, whilst others are complete with dates and names of those addressed.

⁹ Mary Ann Tanner to Norman Penney, 10 October 1916, FHL, MS Box D.

¹⁰ Felicity Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject: Gender and Ideology in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989, 1995) pp. 58-64.

¹¹ Nussbaum, *The Autobiographical Subject*, p. 159.

¹² Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003) p. 116, which refers to the journal of a Quaker contemporary of Fox's, Elizabeth Brown Wheeler of Bedfordshire (1754-1793).

¹³ Sarah Champion to Richard Champion, 17 September 1760, CC, BRO, 38083 (1-3), no. 3.

¹⁴ See Diary entry for September 1784.

¹⁵ Sarah Ryan (1724-68) was born into a poor family, and was converted by George Whitefield at the age of seventeen. She joined the Society at the Foundery and became one of John Wesley's most intimate female friends, much to the annoyance of his wife. From 1757 to 1761 she was Wesley's housekeeper in Bristol. Source: *Encyclopedia of World Methodism* (1974) and Donald Lewis (ed.) *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, (1995)

<http://rylibweb.man.ac.uk/data/dg/methodist/bio/bior.html>, Wesleyan Methodism, partly because it recruited many uneducated people, partly because of the emotionalism of its services had an irrationalist aspect. The account of her conversion in *The Arminian Magazine*, vol. 11 (1779), pp. 296-299, has shown that Ryan's conversion to Wesleyanism did not rule out her belief that an angel had warned her that the local Jewish family who had employed her and showed her family 'exceeding' kindness were agents of her potential damnation.... For Leonore Knapp see Madge Dresser ' "The Book of your Own Heart": Some Observations on Women's Spritual Memoits in the Eighteenth Centry, the case of the Bristol Moravians' in J. Bettey (ed.), *Historic Churches and Church Life in Bristol: Essays in Memory of Elizabeth Ralph 1911-2000*, (Bristol: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2001), pp. 141-144.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Johnson (1720-98) kept a diary which was partly published at the end of the century. Mrs. E. Johnson *An Account of Mrs Elizabeth Johnson to which is added an extract from her diary* (Bristol: 1799). See the notes to the main text of this volume for more information on her life; Rachel Tucker's Diary was transcribed by William Dyer in 1767 and can be found at the Bristol Central Reference Library, B20097.

¹⁷ Catherine Phillips (1726/7-1794) was a Quaker minister for about 45 years according to the DQB and had travelled around the British Isles, Ireland, Holland and to America where she reportedly travelled nearly 9,000 miles.

¹⁸ M.H. Simpson, 'Bristol Friends and the Friars Meeting House, *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. 47, (1955), p. 28; 'Proceedings and Cash Accounts of the Committee for Building Friars Meeting House,' Society of Friends Collection, Bristol Record Office (henceforth BRO) SF/A12/1; Roger Angerson, 'Descriptive List of the Records of the Bristol and Frenchay Monthly Meetings of the Society of Friends', (unpublished typescript, Jan. 1963) BRO; Madge Dresser, 'Protestants, Catholics and Jews: Religious Difference and Political Status in Bristol 1750-1850' in Madge Dresser and Phillip Ollerenshaw (eds.), *The Making of Modern Bristol* (Tiverton: Redcliffe Press, 1996), p. 105.

¹⁹ William C. Braithwaite's *The Second Period of Quakerism* (original edition Cambridge University Press, 1955, 2nd edition York: William Sessions Ltd., 1979), p. 123; Russell Mortimer, *Early Bristol Quakerism: the Society of Friends in the City 1654-1700*, (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1967); R. S. Mortimer, 'Quakerism in Seventeenth Century Bristol', (unpublished typescript in two volumes, University of Bristol M.A. thesis 1946), A170.

²⁰ Frenchay village, now part of South Gloucestershire, is just to the north of Bristol near Winterbourne and is the site of a small local Quaker museum.

²¹ S.C. to J. Lloyd, n.d. but c. 1772, and S.C. to Sukey Rogers, 1762, CC, BRO, 38083 (5), nos.17 and 25.

²² This Nehemiah Champion died in 1766 and is not to be confused with his relative and namesake who founded the Warmley brass works. W. E. Minchinton speculates that Richard, at least, may have received a legacy on the death of his Uncle Richard. See the Introduction to the Guide which accompanies the Microfilm of W.E. Minchinton (general ed.), *The Letterbooks and other Champion Correspondence*, BRO 38083 (1-4), p. 4.

²³ See Diary entry for 1759.

²⁴ See Diary entry for 2 February 1789.

²⁵ Bridget Hill, *Women, Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England*, (London: UCL Press, 1994) pp. 221-239. See also Olwen Hufton, 'Women Without Men: Widows and

Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century,' *Journal of Family History*, vol. 9, no. 4 (1984), pp. 361; Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: a History of Women in Western Europe*, vol. 1. (London: Fontana Press, 1997), p. 500.

²⁶ See S.C. to Sukey Rogers, 7 May 1761, CC, BRO, 38983 (5), no. 3.

²⁷ See for example S.C. to M. Dallaway, 9 July 1766, and to Richard Champion, August 1767, CC BRO 38983 (5), nos. 116 and 128.

²⁸ If being a Quaker opened up a network of credit and contacts, it also helped to circumscribe Richard Champion's business activities. As is well known, he got into serious trouble for his involvement with privateering and when the fortunes of his Bristol China Company faltered as they did in 1778, he could not meet the demands of two of his creditors who were fellow Quakers and refused to submit the matter to the Society's arbitration. He was barred from the Society of Friends and left Bristol, first for Staffordshire, narrowly avoiding bankruptcy. After a short and ultimately unhappy time serving as Burke's deputy, when the latter briefly procured the post of Paymaster General, he left for America. See D.M. Olsen, 'Richard Champion and the Society of Friends', p. 175 and the Minutes of the Men's Meeting of the Society of Friends (hereafter MM), BRO, SF SF/A1/13 entries for 3 November 1777, 20 April 1778, 24 August 1778,

²⁹ D.M. Olsen, 'Richard Champion and the Society of Friends', p. 173 lists him as a gentleman farmer, and Walter Minchinton states in his notes to the Microfilm Collection of the Champion Correspondence (BRO 38083 ref. XXIV/2) that he 'settled on a plantation near Camden' there. Camden was a rice growing region where virtually all the plantations had slaves. Champion and his family settled into South Carolina with the active assistance of Richard's brother-in-law and close friend John Lloyd who was an established slave-trader in Charleston. 'A minimum of thirty working slaves, ...was the sine qua non for the establishment of a profitable rice plantation' (in late eighteenth-century South Carolina) according to Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*, (Chapel Hill and London: Omohundro Institute publication by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 35.

³⁰ See, for example, Diary entries for 21 January 1761, and 16 August 1779.

³¹ See Diary entry entitled '2nd day' which comes after the entry for 19th August 1788.

³² Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 71; S.C. to M. Lloyd, n.d. but c. 1770, CC, BRO 38083 (5) no. 311; see 'Part of a Letter to a Friend', n.d. but c. 1766, CC, BRO, 38083(5), no. 131-134, for a rather gothic description of an old gentry family's residence near Cheltenham.

³³ See CC, 'Part of a Letter to the Same, (M. Dallaway) n.d. but c. 1766, BRO 38083(5), no. 116.

³⁴ Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 47-48 on the low status of 'old maids'.

³⁵ Sheila Wright, *Friends in York: the Dynamics of Quaker Revival 1780-1860*, (Keele: Keele University Press, 1995), pp. 119-121.

³⁶ S.C. to T. Saunders, n.d. but c. 1767, BRO 38983 (5), no.167, where she complains that whatever little she learned about love from her attraction to her tutor, she 'was glad to unlearn, for I found either that my new acquaintance must be sacrificed to my peace or {vice versa}....'

³⁷ Sophie Wright, and no. 229 plus Harfords in diary.

³⁸ S.C. to William Logan, n.d. but c. 1768, in CC, BRO, 38083 (5), nos. 150-151.

³⁹ S.C. to Sukey Rogers, n.d. but c. 1762, in CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 23.

⁴⁰ See for example her letter of April 1764, CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 29, which likened her friend's present residence at her country house in Winterbourne to a 'confinement' in a nunnery and urged her to 'admit the Bearer {of her letter} to converse with you at your Grates...' The bearer referred to is her brother and he eloped with Judy Lloyd soon after.

⁴¹ S.C. to T. Saunders, 2 April 1768, CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 172.

⁴² S.C. to Esther Champion, n.d. but c. 1770, CC, BRO 38083 (5) no. 203.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ S.C. to ?, n.d. but c. 1764, CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 67.

⁴⁵ S.C. to Esther Champion, n.d. but c. 1770, CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 209.

⁴⁶ S.C. to Sukey Rogers, 30 Oct. 1767, CC BRO 38083 (5), no. 137.

⁴⁷ S.C. to Elizabeth Champion (?), n.d. but c. 1768, CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 187.

⁴⁸ See Susan Moller Okin, 'Patriarchy and Married Women's Property in England: Questions on Some Current Views, *Eighteenth Century Studies*, vol. 2 (winter 1983/4), p. 133; Amy Erickson, *Married Women's Property*, pp. 225-236.

⁴⁹ M. Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: the Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*, (London: Continuum Books, 2001), pp. 163-164.

⁵⁰ S.C. to T. Saunders, n.d. but c. 1768, CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 167.

⁵¹ S.C. to J. and M. Fox, 15 Feb 1765, CC, BRO 38083 (5), no. 106.

⁵² Vickery, *A Gentleman's Daughter*, p. 81.

⁵³ See Diary entry for 20 May 1773.

⁵⁴ See Diary entry for 31 August 1794.

⁵⁵ Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth Century England*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), p. 411.

⁵⁶ Lee Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, (London: Hutchinson, 1987), p. 137.

⁵⁷ The public meeting organised by Martha Routh is described in the entry for 28 June 1798. Regarding published sermons by women ministers, see *The Complaint which was Taken Up Formerly: A Sermon and Prayer delivered by Catherine Phillips (AKA/A Catherine Payton) at the 'Fryar's' (i.e. Quakers Friars) Meeting House, Bristol, 5th of 5th Month, 1779 published in Some Discourses, Epistles, and Letters, by the Late Samuel Fothergill. To Which Are Added, Some Discourses by the Late Catherine Phillips, Both of the Society of Friends*. London: W. Phillips, 1803. This sermon, which seems to have been delivered to a mixed-sex audience, would have been read by both sexes when published and is accessible on-line on: <http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qhoa/phillips1.htm>. Mary Ridgeway and Margaret Dudley and Deborah Darby whose names appear in the journal also had sermons published.

⁵⁸ Mary Ridgeway and Phoebe Speakman for example were among those who worked in Ireland before coming to Bristol.

⁵⁹ The Dictionary of Quaker Biography at Friends' House Library in London is a multi-volumed typescript digest of biographical information on selected individual members of the Society of Friends collated from various primary and secondary sources. It is henceforth referred to as Catherine Phillips DQB; BRO, Minutes of the Women's Monthly Meeting 6 September 1783, SF/A2/2.

⁶⁰ Harry Gandy's letter is appended to Anthony Benezet's *Some Historical Account of Guinea... its Situation, Produce, and the General Disposition of its Inhabitants with an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its natures, and Lamentable Effects*, (London: J. Phillips, 1788).

⁶¹ DQB.

⁶² DQB. Sarah Tuke Grubb is not to be confused with Sarah Lynes Grubb, both of whom Sarah Fox knew. For further references see notes in main text.

⁶³ DQB; Henry Cadbury 'Negro Membership in the Society of Friends (1) (Part Two)', *Journal of Negro History*, 21, (1936), pp. 151-213 on-line at <http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/hcjh2.htm>. Routh's *Memoir of the Life, Travels and Religious Experience of Martha Routh* (W. Alexander and Son: York, 1824) was first published in 1822 and went through three editions according to the British Library Catalogue. See <http://www.sgmm.org/history/quakerbooks.html>.

For letters from her in the Scattergood family papers at Haverford College, Pennsylvania see <http://www.haverford.edu/library/special/aids/scattergood/>.

For her silhouette, see <http://www.rootsweb.com/~quakers/quaksilo.htm>.

A copy of the *Memoir of the Life, Travels, and Religious Experience of Martha Routh* (New York: n.p., 1797), is listed in the Barclay College Library collection at Haviland, Kansas, U.S.A. at

<http://www.sgmm.org/history/quakerbooks.html>. See also minutes for the Women's Monthly Meeting 12 May 1789, BRO, SF/A2/2.

⁶⁴ Other ministers who evidently influenced Sarah Fox were the Americans George Dilwyn, David Sands and William Savery. Prominent in their day, they travelled throughout Europe and published sermons, one of which (by Savery) is said to have been the inspiration for the reformer Elizabeth Fry. William Savery's 'The Everlasting Gospel' cited by Fry can be read by accessing: <http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qhoa/18th.htm>.

⁶⁵ See Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, pp. 146-147.

⁶⁶ William Savery's Sermon 'An Age of Uncommon Events' made in 1796, remarks that '...men of science have been exceedingly curious in their researches: they have brought up some new and before unheard-of things to view; and probably some of them may be turned to advantage to their country, in ages to come, though they are not *now* altogether usefully employed in the world.' This can be read by accessing:

<http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qhoa/ws05.htm>.

⁶⁷ Although the diary's only reference to a telescope is when Fox used it to witness the eclipse of the moon in 1802, her correspondence indicates she saw 'the planets, Jubiter {sic} Saturn and Venus thro a very good teliscope {sic}' around 1769. See CC, BRO, 83083(5), no. 209-210.

⁶⁸ Deborah M. Olsen, 'Richard Champion and the Society of Friends,' p. 179-184. P. T. Underdown, 'Burke's Bristol Friends,' *TBGAS*, vol. 77, (1958), esp. pp. 128-135.

⁶⁹ See the Diary entry for 20 March 1768 and accompanying note. Both Richard and Sarah Champion's letters allude to the inoculations which were performed at Barton Hill, Bristol. See for example, S.C. to M. Dallaway, n.d. but c. 1769, CC, BRO 38083 (5), nos. 209-210. He is listed as an M.D. in Sketchley's Bristol Directory of 1777. These inoculations which used live smallpox bacteria were more dangerous than Jenner's vaccinations.

⁷⁰ M. Dresser, 'Protestants, Catholics and Jews' in *The Making of Modern Bristol*, pp. 105-109.

⁷¹ No reference or date but c. 1769, CC, BRO, 38083 (5), nos. 240241.

⁷² See Diary, 24 September 1798 (re horses), CC, BRO; S.C. to E.H., Jan. 1772 38083 (5) (on fishing); S.C. to R.C., 20 June 1761, CC, BRO 38083 (1-3), p. 23 (re duelling).

Extracts from

The Diary of Sarah Fox née Champion

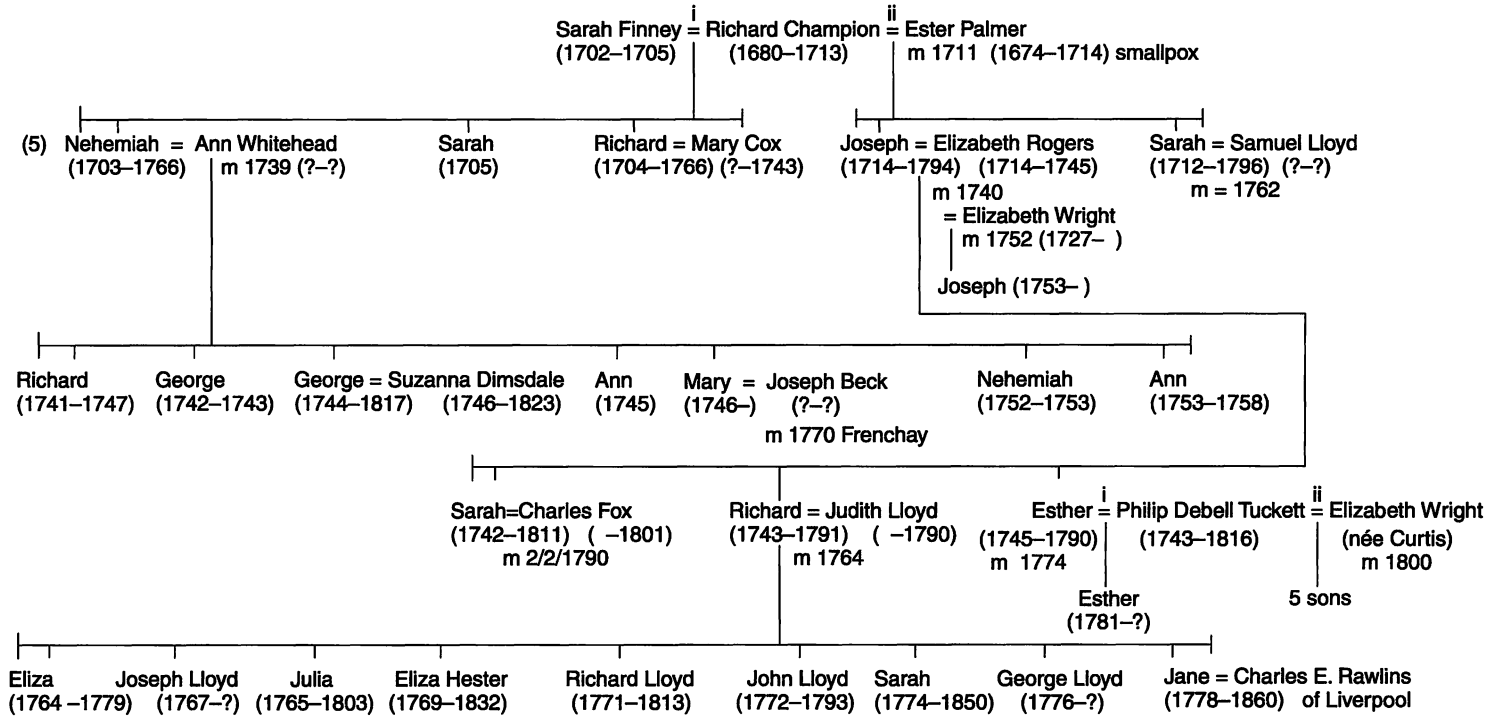
Bristol 1745 – 1802

The original manuscript was lent by the late Philip D. Tuckett of Frenchay to John Frank of Bristol in order that he might extract therefrom what he might think suitable for general reading for the use of Friends of Bristol.

This volume is an exact copy of John Frank's extracts and was written by Theodore Naish in the same year – 1872.

Birmingham 27. XI. 1873

The Champion Family Tree



EXTRACTS

1745

September 18th 1745. Died of a miliary fever my mother.¹ Her disorder was supposed to be mistaken, & no danger was apprehended till a few days before she expired on her 31st year, leaving my sister an infant of 8 weeks old, my brother a year & 10 months – myself 3 years & 8 months.

The death of my mother was a severe shoke to my grandmother (Rogers) who immediately took me home & tenderly loved me for her sake. I had lately been taken from nurse at Westbury, where my brother continued. My memory still retains several little incidents that passed there with my mother, though but a faint idea of her person, which was handsome, & her disposition very amiable. My sister was nursed at home at my father's² till she was a year old, & then sent to my brother's soon after which my father went to reside in London.

1748

In 1748 my grandmother³ went to Bath & took with her two of my young cousins & myself.

The roads were then so bad we were obliged to be taken over a wall, & to breakfast at Keynsham.⁴ Had we been in the stage, we should have (as was the custom) dined there. We had lodgings on the church yard, & passed six weeks at Bath very happily; where at this time lived a maiden sister of my father's.

1750, 1751

March 1750, my brother was taken from nurse, & soon after sent to school. My affection for him, being stronger than children of the same family commonly feel for each other, occasioned much distress in my young mind when my father (in April 1751) sent for him to London. This was the first affliction I had ever known, & for a time I felt it sensibly; and, if a wish ever obtruded itself in those happy days, it was to see & converse with my

beloved brother . In a few months after, my sister was taken from Westbury.⁵ I think she was near 6 years old – lively as a bird, & the prettiest child I have ever seen – very little of her age & so attached to her nurse that it was with difficulty that we could pacify her violent grief on her being first-brought home; but amusement soon allayed the storm.

I was now as happy as a state of comparative innocence & the tenderest solicitude of an affectionate parent could make me. A journal of the week was a journal of my whole life, of the serenity of which I retain, even now a very pleasant remembrance. Each particular day was set apart for the visits of the different branches of my grandmother's family⁶ which at this time consisted of two sons & a daughter. The eldest son was a man of distinguished sense, & of a very respectable character in the world, but had unhappily a reserved disposition tinctured with suspicion & gloom. In his own family he was not so familiar with his children, nor shone so much in the domestic character as he was otherwise qualified to do. His wife, whose maiden name was Lloyd, was a woman of uncommon excellence. Though her feelings were lively she had them so much under the command of her reason, that firmness of mind through the whole of a well spent life was her distinguishing characteristic. She possessed a large share of prudence & if the merit of her character shone with more lustre in any one part than another, it was in that of a wife, in which, though she had a husband fully sensible of her worth, she had some difficulties to encounter. Nor were those who best knew her ever able to find a flaw in a character so excellent, except that a natural shyness to strangers, & a little want of tenderness occasionally in her manner, sometimes cast a veil over virtues {virtues} so highly estimated by those around with an intimate knowledge of it. She was also too silent in company, because she seldom spoke but her hearers might be instructed.

This couple has at this period six children... The youngest child was the age of my sister, & inherited all the excellencies of her mother, though in many aspects different; but as time has not then matured her many virtues {virtues}, a more proper place may be found to speak of them. She was called Susanna. My aunt Lloyd, my {paternal} grandmother's only surviving daughter, was at this time a widow & had two children.⁷ She had lost her husband Samuel Lloyd by a melancholy accident some years before: he was drowned on a party of pleasure. She had been many years after this misfortune reduced to such a state that her continuing to live seemed almost a miracle. From this state she revived by slow degrees, & was at this time well enough to go out; but it had left a melancholy cast on her countenance, which joined to an anxious temper, made her often uncomfortable. She was not a woman of abilities but was kind & hospitable to her friends, & when in spirits very agreeable.

1752

June 1752. My father married Elizabeth Wright a pretty widow of about 25 years old, with two children unprovided for. Till this marriage my father used to visit us once in a year or two, but on these occasions I did not feel pleasant; for I could perceive, young as I was, that his company gave my grandmother pain; & that cause was sufficient to produce similar effects in my own mind. She was anxious for me to please him, that he might be satisfied with the education she gave me, which was, in some respects, more conformable to his taste than her own judgement, lest he should, as she feared, wish to remove us to London.

1753

In 1753 (August) my father had a son whom he called Joseph after himself. About this time my grandmother had a visit from her niece Hart & her little daughter upon a melancholy occasion – the loss of an excellent husband & father. He had for some time before his death been complaining of a nameless disorder, & had entertained a notion that his understanding was imperfect. This terminated in a fatal manner to his family, for it deprived them of their best friend by means the most affecting - his own hand. His wife's temper was unhappy, so that their child, my young friend, doubly felt this loss. She was a girl of an excellent understanding & good disposition. Deeply affected by this dreadful event, her earthly happiness thus shaken, & every ambitious hope cut off, she became serious & sought for felicity from the fountain whence alone it flows. The woman at whose house they had taken lodgings on their removal from my grandmother's invited her to go to a Methodist meeting, which society she afterwards, through much persecution from her mother, joined, & proved herself a steady & valuable member.

1754

1754. February 22. My grandmother was, on the evening of this day, at near the age of 80, removed from a state in which she had known much trouble, having lost her husband at 40, after he had been long afflicted with the gout, & left with a large young family, from which though in a state of affluence, she suffered much & received but little comfort. She had been for some time in a declining state, unable to walk into the parlour whither she was everyday carried.

My aunt Lloyd & her daughter dined with her. She ate a little, but visibly altered toward evening, & mostly dosed {dozed}. [She was] perfectly sensible, & anxiously solicitous for our welfare, whom she considered in the light of orphans though we had one surviving parent, she sent to my uncle

Rogers⁸ to unburden her mind on the subject. As I was sitting by my aunt Lloyd in the evening, she said she feared both herself & we were very near losing our best friend; but finding me much affected. She soothed me with hopes & about 9 o'clock prevailed upon me to retire with my sister, though I first went up to my grandmother to take leave of her for the night, when I think she spoke to me; but soon after we left the room she quietly ceased to breathe. The next morning I came down stairs ignorant of the situation of the family, but perceiving by the looks & conduct of those about me that something was the matter, I should perhaps have guessed had they not attempted to deceive me. I feared to ask questions, yet knew not why. In this situation I wandered upstairs determining to make an effort to go into my grandmother's chamber, but a servant who had the care of me from my infancy kept me out. I then threw myself on the bed in a state between hope & fear that seemed insupportable. Soon after, however, I returned to the parlour, & was immediately requested to go over to my aunt Lloyd's. There I learned that I had indeed lost "one of the most affectionate parents that ever child was blessed with," & whose life I had often wished might for my sake be spared till I had passed the giddy season of youth. Such was the strength of my affection for her that I could not for a long time bear the thought that, in course of years, I should survive my beloved grandmother; for in her from whom alone [since infancy] I had received parental care & tenderness, was centred all my filial affection, & therefore I felt my irreparable loss the more. Yet notwithstanding my grief was excessive, from the violence of it as well as from my youth, being just turned of 12 years, I soon experienced that

"E'en with the tender fear that nature sheds
O'er those we love we drop it in their grave;"

and I should soon have recovered my spirits had not another painful circumstance succeeded. My sister & myself were separated. This we mutually lamented & formed some childish schemes to prevent. I staid at my aunt Lloyds, & my uncle & aunt Rogers took my sister, she being nearly the same age as their youngest daughter Sukey R. The greatest pleasure I then had was being their companion, though 3 years older. I thought my lot peculiarly hard, that having a brother & sister I had ever loved with more than what is usually a sister's fondness I should not be indulged with living with either. My brother continued in London, & though we had often heard from him since he left us we had never seen him. A little before this period I commenced an acquaintance with a young person who went to the same school as myself, whose name was Lloyd, though not related to my aunt. At this time an intimacy succeeded which soon ripened into friendship. Yet though this connection commenced at school, before the death of my grandmother, I never till after that period was permitted to make visits except those of form. But not long after I went to my aunt Lloyd's, J. Lloyd

& myself became almost inseparable. We dressed alike, walked & visited together & saw each other every day.

Our manner of life was so different from that to which I had been accustomed at my grandmother's that it seemed like a new world to me. My favourite reading was novels. I was become romantic to excess, & have since thought it almost astonishing, from the sudden liberty allowed me & from my growth & knowledge being above those of my age in general, that I was not guilty of some great imprudence. For as I grew more & more dissipated, I could not ascribe my preservation to any sense of religion I had on my mind, & the very name of a quaker by degrees became burdensome to me. The constant amusement, afforded us by my friend J. Lloyd's family, continued till an unexpected misfortune [on their part] put a stop to it.

1756

In August 1756 my father brought his wife & two sons to pay my uncle {Richard 'Gospel'} Champion⁹ a visit. The latter was a man of remarkably worthy character, in whom a solid good understanding was joined to a disposition uncommonly peaceful. To promote this [peace] among men was his chief delight. Indeed, his own family furnished him with employment enough, of this kind, as his brother (my father) & sister had been long at variance {variance} with him & my uncle Nehemiah Champion, & lately with each other. These two youngest children of my grandfather [my father & aunt] were left infants by their mother, a valuable, sensible, religious woman from Long Island in America – Her maiden name Esther Palmer. She came to England on a religious visit, in the course of which she married my grandfather, Richard Champion. She was his second wife (he afterwards had a third) & lived with him but a few years bearing her children infants, whom in her dying moment she fervently prayed for & recommended to the care of her husband & his two elder sons, whose conduct proved the weight her injunctions had on their minds. There is a more particular account of the whole in the "Dying Sayings or Piety Promoted."^{a 10}

At the time of this visit of my father's, my brother was about 13, & the favourite wish of again seeing him being at length gratified, I enjoyed his company for some weeks when they again returned to London.

^a See 2nd vol of "Piety Promoted" (Ed 1789) p 235. As there stated "E. Champion died in Bristol on the 3rd of 9th mo 1714, after 11 day illness [of small pox] and her remains were interred in Friends burial ground in that city, where her love and labour in the work of the word of life, had been large: in which she was blessed of God, and made successful to the good and comfort of many." {J.F.}

1759

In 1759 I went to London with the widow Galton. I was met by my father on our arrival & by him conducted to Islington where he then resided. On my entrance into London I was struck with amazement with its appearance, the lamps being lighted, — feeling similar to most young on a similar occasion. A new scent was now opened before me, & though the liberty which had been suddenly given me on my removal to my aunt's, had been a great change to me, yet was this of a very different nature. Much as I loved my brother nothing could compensate for the disagreeable things I met with in a six weeks' visit. Every day produced some new scene of confusion — quarrelling &c, a neglect of attending places of worship, paying no regard to the Sabbath, never reading scriptures, & profaning the most sacred names by a wonton {wanton} use. These & many other things, made me earnestly wish to return home. Nor did a sight of those things usually seen in London much amuse me. Even the stage from which I expected the greatest [pleasure] failed to give it. The women's dresses hurt my native modesty; their affectation disgusted me. Garrick¹¹ alone seemed to resemble nature. Indeed I have often long since been surprised how any one's passions can be moved at hearing a set of painted puppets, for such they appeared to me who had been unaccustomed to such things, repeating with studied gestures, some ranting speech in blank verse at a time when he or she is to be supposed to lie under such deep impressions of sorrow; as if it were possible to imagine that in such a state they could make poetry. Sorrow, deep heartfelt sorrow, is of a very different nature; phrensy may rant, but sorrow is quiet.

In six weeks to my great satisfaction, I left London. Little however as this visit had pleased me at the time, it occasioned an increased love of gaiety on my return to Bristol, & much at times did I regret that I had been educated in the Society of which I was born a member; yet I knew not how to get out of it with reputation to myself.

In this summer my aunt took possession of Stoke¹² (where she had not lived before since the death of her husband) where we went to reside for the summer.

Being in the country was a novelty to me & I was greatly delighted on the occasion "I longed to talk to purling streams & ramble in shady groves" & so fond was I of this situation the first summer, that I seldom went to Bristol except when I expected to meet my sister there, who was at the same time at Frenchay with my uncle Rogers' family.

Added to my aunt, my cousin & myself, was a pretty little boy about two years old, an only child of Edward & Ann Lloyd, who were our frequent visitors. This sweet little fellow would have proved an agreeable amusement, had not the excessive anxiety & tenderness of his grandmother made him

sickly & humoursome though naturally good-tempered; & I was not of an age to make much allowance. Indeed I have ever lamented that children should be so often made unhappy to themselves & troublesome to others by such improper management; though I am fully sensible, on this as well as other subjects of the very great difference between theory & practice.

1760

In this year my aunt Sally Champion¹³ [alluded to... {above}] died at Richmond without a friend to comfort her in her last moments or to regret her loss. The only attendant she had, servants excepted, was the person to whom of all others she had a dislike – my father's (second) wife. My aunt was a woman of brilliant parts & lively wit, but of a bad temper & with a turn for satire – a dangerous weapon in such hands. She had a gay turn & quitted the society in which she had been born & educated, she scrupled not to say for the sake of joining more with the world. Whatever might have been her reflections in a lingering illness or however useful one might hope such a time of preparation proved as relates to her happiness in a future state, it is plain that in respect to the present she never enjoyed so much happiness as the encouragement of the serious impressions with which she was favoured in youth would have procured her. She would then probably have lived with reputation in that faith in which she had been educated & which her mother had so eminently adorned; & after a useful life on earth enjoying the esteem of her friends, would at her death have been regretted by them.

In the latter part of this year Samuel Neale¹⁴ from Ireland paid a visit to Bristol, on which account I went to Bristol to meeting. In my way thither I heard of the death of the good old king George the second.

1761

Spent the first day of the new year at my uncle Champion's. On the 7th Samuel Neale breakfasted with us in Castle Green (whither we had some time since returned for the winter). Afterwards he preached to us on the following words, "Fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings; for the worm shall eat them like wool, & the moth like a garment." He then enlarged on the great things God had done for his children; saying that if some present were faithful & obedient, they should fully experience these truths. Samuel Neale was himself a proof of the faith of this doctrine. In early youth he had been gay to excess – had followed a very dissipated if not vicious course of life – but, by giving up to what was required of him, had known what was the blessing of being faithful & obedient to that gracious Power who had called him out of darkness into his marvellous light. Thus on the bloom of youth, with a person peculiarly

agreeable, & an address formed to please, he was enabled to get loose from the vanities & follies which had hitherto led him captive – bid adieu to his abandoned associates, & boldly enlisting in the cause of religion & virtue, after a preparatory season, stand forth publickly in its cause. He married Mary Peisley [in 1757] but the happiness he enjoyed in her society was of a short duration, for on the day week on which she gave her hand to S. Neale she was interred from the same meeting house. This was a very effecting event & her husband felt it in its full force. Indeed such was the excess of his grief that for a long time nothing seemed to have power to console him; neither the reflection of his beloved friend's happiness nor religious considerations seemed able to calm his mind. At length by some extraordinary means, he was enabled to acknowledge from a feeling sense of its truth, that the Lord who gave had an undoubted right to take away.

Jan 12th I spent the first evening at Joseph Fry's¹⁵ in narrow Wine Street, where I went with a hope of being invited to stay hearing from Sukey & Hetty [Rogers] that they were invited to meet S. Neale who was expected to supper. None of the company being come, & the mistress of the house being just then engaged, I waited in the parlour to deliver to her a message I came professedly about. Here I met with Shurmer Bath,¹⁶ a young man celebrated for the goodness of his understanding & command of temper in argument. With him I had some conversation - principally on stage entertainments, of the impropriety of which he convinced me; & in order to do the business fully, he lent me W^m Law's¹⁷ treatise on the subject. Joseph Beck of Frenchay, his wife & two daughters were also there – a very agreeable family. With such company, the evening would have passed very agreeably had there not been a favourite wish left ungratified. S. Neale came not, for whom myself & two companions listened at every foot-step that came up the entry, which, from the kitchen stairs door being close to the parlour, subjected us to repeated disappointments.

21st. I spent at home with Phebe Whitehead, a young woman who with two other children were left destitute at the death of their father. She had been put to mantua making & was employed by us & many other families. She was a sensible, agreeable girl; & perceiving the life of confinement was irksome to her, I generally devoted as much time as I could to reading to her, whilst she was at her work. The favourite reading of both were novels – an employment peculiarly dangerous to such a disposition as mine.

22nd. My uncle Francis Rogers was seized with a kind of death stroke. He had been declining a long time, but seldom complained. From this moment he was never able to speak a connected sentence sensibly; tho' often when speechless he strove in vain to do it. In 3 days he expired. Death approached in a ghastly form: it spoke an intelligent language in my mind, & the impression was too strong ever to be erased from my memory.

Sometime in this month Thomas Rutter first preached in the lower gallery & was much advanced in the ministry before he sat there. This young man, who was the son of an unworthy father, before he had attained his 13th year was impressed with the necessity of a stricter conformity to the principles he professed. He had a very lively understanding with a very quick perception. If we consider the character of the father, with the early education given him by his mother who was a strict methodist at Kingswood school at its first setting up, & the bad example set by his father on his return, it is not surprising it should all concur in turning his mind for a time from religion. But many have been the instances to prove that "when our father & our mother forsake us, the Lord will take us up." In his first giving up to his convictions he suffered much persecution from his father; but after a time he grew exceedingly fond of a son that did him credit in every part of his conduct, who by his industry kept him out of jail, paid all his debts & procured more than a comfortable subsistence for both – his own hand administering to his own & his father's necessities. After a time his influence over his father produced an agreeable effect of the conduct of the latter. At about 18, T.R. was called to the work of the ministry, & thus early promised to become one of the first ministers of the Society.

February 12. My uncle Rogers (see page 4) expired this evening about 7 o'clock. His last moments were calm, serene, & full of peace. He was surrounded by his family of whom he had separately taken leave. About a fortnight before his removal, whilst his brother [Francis R.] lay dead, he expressed a desire to pay his widow a visit. Thither he was conveyed in a chair, & by two of his sons carried up stairs. The design of this visit was to assure her of his kindness. He was buried in Redcliff yard, as his brother & mother had been, the 18th of Feb^y 1761.

In March I spent some days at Joseph Beck's at Frenchay with Sukey & Hetty, which we passed in the most agreeable manner. This worthy couple so often joined our youthful amusements that it gained much of our regard & esteem. He frequently instructed his girls in different parts of their learning, & even in their play took opportunities of improving their minds; though at the same time careful to preserve the respect due from children to parents. Their mother was also very sensible, yet in some respects the very reverse of her husband. He was extremely reserved, whilst she was talkative, active & lively; tho' I never remember hearing her say a foolish thing but many interesting & instructive ones; & so many agreeable useful remarks were blended with the entertaining stories she used to tell us, that we were never tired with her company. She was just a kind & respectable neighbour – a friend in need. Besides their two daughters they had a son at this time at school.

April 19th, was our yearly Meeting, about which time Joseph White of America, being on a visit to England, attended our anniversary at Bristol & lodged at my uncle Champion's.^b There was something about him & his ministry that carried such strong evidence whose servant he was, & such energy accompanied his preaching, that it found the way to my mind & increased an ardent wish, before raised there, to know more of the power he felt. I had found some months before that I had made a wrong estimate of happiness; & that the reason I had found it in my past life so defective was from being a stranger to the source from which happiness is derived. Nor do I remember, though S. Neale's visit & being present at a scene^c which had made a strong impression on my mind had a sensible effect on my pursuits, that it ever remained so long or so much with me as at this season. & though on many of the subsequent parts of my life, I have frequently wandered from the garden enclosed, yet I trust I speak under a deep sense of gratitude to him in whom alone is all power – He has preserved me from losing sight of it. Experience has fully proved to me that every step I have trod back into the world – its friendships & interests, has led me further from happiness, even in the present moment, & has convinced me that the only real enjoyment both here & hereafter is inward peace – that peace which being measurably redeemed can only give; & the more we know of this true peace, which is true liberty, the more we shall know of happiness. A small degree of religious experience will verify the truth of these observations.

23rd. I attended Lawrence Weston¹⁸ meeting with Sukey & Hetty, where Joseph White preached upon these words, "Forms or opposition to forms availeth not but the Power." This morning was one of those that, when I trace back my past life, I review with peculiar satisfaction.

[About this time] my sister & I went to my aunt Champion's at Downend, where we spent some days. On our return we visited at J. Fry's, where was an agreeable resort of that kind of company we had lately both enjoyed. The many acts of kindness received from Anna Fry produced an intimacy, & are remembered with gratitude & regard. Joseph & Anna Fry^d were one of the few couples that appeared to me to enjoy real happiness in married life – the result of a long, steady, affectionate attachment that took deep root in very early life.

^b [An account of Joseph White will be found in "Memorials of Friends" by S Corder. He visited England in 1758 and remained 3 years. He died in 1777 aged about 64 years.] {The uncle alluded to is probably Richard 'Gospel' Champion.}

^c The last moments of my uncle Francis Rogers. [See page...{above}]

^d [These friends were the parents of Joseph Storrs Fry who died at Redland near Bristol on the 18th of 11 mo 1835, and of whom and of his wife Ann Fry, accounts will be found in S Corder's "Memorials of deceased Friends". Joseph Fry was a son and J. S. Fry a grandson of John Fry of Sutton Benger. {J.F.}]

10th September. I went to town to see my father who had brought his wife & my little [half] brother again to my uncle Champion's. Two days after my aunt Rogers, Sukey Rogers, & William Logan of Philadelphia drank tea with us. W.L. was a very agreeable man, in the opinion of our sex especially. It was my father's intention to take back to London my sister & myself to spend six weeks & the time for our going was fixed for the 18th of this month. The preceeding afternoon A.G. drank tea with us. Her well meant but ill timed zeal to do my sister & me service, put all the company (among whom were strangers) into confusion as what she said was resented by my father, & my uncle, being a lover of peace, seemed vexed on the occasion.

28th. We set out & reached Newbury. Some little incidents in the course of the journey made my father apprehend that his daughters were desirous of walking in a path he had quitted in disgust. At the beginning of the time, therefore, that they were with him at Islington, he made some attempts to induce them to get more into the world, its customs & vanities. But over the following year I wish to draw a veil – not so to conceal that from which I own with humility I suffered loss – but the recollection is too painful, & I believe would not be profitable to dwell upon. Not one pleasing event does memory present me with during that period, nor had I any joy but in the company of my brother & sister. My father was in an ill state of health most of the time & we staid at his house. His little boy was at home at times of vacation – a very pleasing innocent child whose mind, though in a situation so unpropitious, seemed remarkably susceptible of religious impressions, - very good tempered, lively & cheerful. I was sometimes whilst listening to his remarks on such subjects, ready to query why he was permitted to continue in a world where his situation peculiarly exposed him to the allurements of vice. But the ways of unerring wisdom, however to us inscrutable, must be right.

1762

29th September 1762. We left London. We were met at Newbury by my cousin Sally Lloyd & E. & S. Rogers, Mark Harford [jr]¹⁹ with them, who was soon to be married to S. Lloyd. We arrived in Castle Green the scene of my happy infantile days, on the 28th exactly one year from the time of our quitting it. Our joy on this occasion is not to be expressed.

November 6th. My brother came to my uncle Champion's at whose house we met him on the evening of his arrival. My old companion Judy Lloyd, had returned to Bristol during our absence, & met us the evening of our arrival. Soon after my return I went to Stoke, where Mark Harford was a constant visitor. One similarity appeared in his situation & that of his intended wife Sally Lloyd. Each had given up a deservedly beloved object because destitute of that wealth so much valued by the generality: & both had on its

sacrifice the merit of obliging their parents, & perhaps thought their conduct resulted from duty: though neither of them made an effort to obtain their consent in persuit {of} their separate inclinations.

26th November. They were married at the Friar's Meeting House, the company about 20 in number. We returned to Stoke to dinner which was sumptuous, & much good clothes on the occasion.

The 28th they made their appearance & soon after took possession of their mother's house in Castle Green, which she had quitted on the occasion, intending to reside wholly at Stoke. But previous to their departure from Stoke on the 4th of December I accompanied them to Bristol in my aunt's chariot where I staid to lodge. On their return home they met with an alarming accident. The horses on the entrance to Durdham Down, took fright, threw the coachman off the box, & on a servant who attended on horse-back attempting to take hold of the reins, pulled him off his horse, which also ran away. Mark Harford, in order to assist in stopping them, jumped out, & in jumping received a considerable injury. Neither master nor man being able to succeed, the horses continued to gallop till they reached the hill, which they went soberly down & stopped at the gate at Stoke till somebody came up to open it. My cousin S.H. was not hurt. The following week, I dined with most of the company that attended the marriage at my cousin E. Lloyd's, King Square. Here I fell in with the humour of the company to the prejudice of my better feelings. We parted late, & with my aunt, I slept there. There are temptations suited to every stage of life – every scene in it – to youth perhaps admiration is most dangerous.

1763

I have but few memorandums in this year, which was chiefly spent between Stoke, my uncle Champion's, & my aunt Rogers's, with my two friends Sukey & Hetty. I regreted living all the year in the country, because I had less of their society; & was fond of Bristol because so many of my friends resided there. Yet after all, it must be acknowledged that there are advantages & disadvantages in every situation of life – perhaps nearly equal to those whose intentions are upright. My brother continued to live at my uncle's, & in the course of this year contracted an intimacy with my friend Judy Lloyd. I soon perceived & perceived with pleasure that he felt an increasing affection for her.

1764

1764 January. In this month was married Joseph Sanders of Exeter to [my cousin] Elizabeth Rogers. They appeared very suitable, & one of those couples that ought to be united. I was at meeting at the marriage, & spent the

evening at my aunt Rogers' – the number of the guests about 20. The principal of the company was the celebrated William Cookworthy²⁰ of Plymouth, who was at this time a middle aged man. He had many years before buried his wife, whose memory continued near & dear to him, & he had never formed a second connexion. He was an eminent minister & his benevolence was as unbounded as his charity was extensive; but by often judging others by the purity of his own intentions, he was sometimes laid open to deception. He conversed with great openness "in all things perfering others to himself." His manner of conveying the most important truths was so lively & interesting that young people, fond of hearing him talk, were often captivated by it, for by it they were taught that Religion is no gloomy, uncomfortable thing, but that, after passing thro' a preparatory season by which they were enabled to view objects & subjects in their proper colours & in a degree experience new desires & pursuits, they would find every enjoyment of the present moment heightened by it, as well as their future happiness ensured. His own cheerfulness manifested to be & state this. He was an eminent chemist & the first inventor of the Bristol China work.

28th. I accompanied my uncle & my brother to meet my father on the London road, with whom we spent the next day, & on the following returned to Bristol. The occasion of this meeting was to endeavour to gain his consent to my brother's marriage with J. Lloyd.

On our return to my uncle's we found Jonah Thompson there – an admired & approved minister in our society. He was remarkable for the soundness of his doctrine & the calmness of his manner – a man of great moderation & temperance in his way of life, with a considerable share of medical knowledge. Much of the philosopher as well as Christian appeared in his sentiments which were very free from bigotry. He had the look of an old apostle.

March 10th. My sister & self called at George Bush's (a man of a very worthy character) to see James Fox of Plymouth – a young man who was candidate for the affections of Polly Bush. His benevolence, generosity, & great openness of temper engaged the regard of all who knew him, by whom he was universally beloved. Polly Bush had early received religious impressions, under which she appeared uncommonly steady, very interesting in conversation, & warm in her attachments of friendship, holding nothing in competition with the interests of her friends when great occasions rendered exertions for them necessary. She was early connected in an intimate friendship with Sukey Rogers, which had increased during our absense in London; & by this means she was introduced to the acquaintance of my sister & myself.

11th. M. Dallaway very ill of an uncommon nervous disorder. James & Martha D. were an agreeable couple from Gloucestershire. At this time they had been married about 2 years & had a little boy about 10 months old. With this amiable couple we spent many agreeable hours, having since they lived in Castle Green contracted an intimacy with them. The nurseing their little boy was a favourite amusement with Sukey, Hetty, & myself.

12th. On the following day (which I spent at the Irongates^e) M. Dallaway was supposed to be dead, which account being transmitted to her husband, he was in an agony of grief. A little while after, the nurse sitting by her bedside (as was her custom to do some time after life had departed) felt a strong impulse to try the effect of a teaspoonsful of brandy; & finding on putting it into her mouth, that it went down her throat, she repeated it. After this she perceived some signs of life & soon found she revived, & in time she gradually recovered. She has since related to me the particulars of her own feelings at that period. She was of opinion she had experienced the pains of dying as much as if she had not returned to life. All within, she said was serenity & peace untill she was recalled to a state of bodily feeling by the brandy administered to her, which occasioned great uneasiness & pain, accompanied by strong regrets that she was not suffered to depart in peace. Whilst she thus, to all appearances, lay dead, she was sensible of great nearness to her mother, a worthy woman who had been dead some years; & she seemed surrounded by an unusual light. M. Dallaway was a truly religious character – a member of the Church of England.

13th. The following day I spent at Winterbourne, at an ancient large house inhabited by a farmer, in a part of which Caleb Lloyd's wife & two daughters Polly & Judy Lloyd.^f After spending two days there I returned to Stoke with my aunt Rogers, Frank Rogers, Sukey & Hetty, who spent the day with us. Having received letters from my father about this time relative to my brother, I went to Bristol in order to have an hour's conversation with my uncle Champion upon the subject.

21st. Went to Bristol with my Aunt, where I received an account that my brother & Judy Lloyd had left Winterbourne that morning together – it was conjectured in their way to Scotland;²¹ in consequence, we had every reason to suppose, of the violent opposition made by my father to their marriage, accompanied by a threat of removing my brother by force from his native country. Though entirely ignorant of this step [of my brother's] I was not surprised at it.

^e Her aunt Rogers' residence in Castle Green {J.F.??}

^f The family mentioned {above}

22nd. The following evening I spent at A. R. Hawksworth's²² with Sukey & Hetty [Rogers], Bill Logan & Thom{as} Rutter. The latter preached after supper in a manner that affected my mind – at that time much engaged on the subject of my brother & Judy Lloyd, for whose safety in their present danger I was anxiously solicitous. Bill Logan the son of W^m Logan of Philadelphia, was apprentice to J. Fry. He was a lad of great activity, lively understanding, & of an enterprising genius. I spent most of my time at Bristol till my brother & sister Champion's return, who were married at Edinburgh on the 25th of March, but did not arrive at Winterbourne till the 10th of April, where they were received by her mother & where I soon paid them a visit.

April 19th. Went to town [Bristol] for the Yearly Meeting, & lodged at Mark Harford's, they (M. & S.H) were at Stoke. The first day I dined at my uncle's with Jonah Thompson & T. Rutter. 2nd, spent the evening with Joel Cadbury at my aunt Rogers'. 3rd, spent the evening in a large company at J. Fry's, where was a meeting that held late, at which preached George Mason, who was a minister of a very singular character – also Nancy Hawkins. 5th day, at Frenchay meeting, where I was, with many others, alarmed by T. Rutter's falling down in a fit in the gallery, whilst Jonah Thomson was on his knees in prayer. But after meeting he was enough recovered to make one of a large company at dinner at J. Beck's, from whence I went to lodge at Winterbourne.

July 5th. My sister came to Stoke & spent a week, at the expiration of which I accompanied her to town & dined at my uncle's with Mercy Bland (afterwards Mercy Ransome) & Betsey Chorley. M. Bland the widow of Stamford Bland of London, was a religious, agreeable woman. They had lodgings at Clifton for Betsey Chorley's health, who died some time after their return home. I often visited them during their stay, & afterwards corresponded with M. Bland, whom many of his friends wished [A] R. Hawksworth would persuade to become a resident in Bristol; especially as some thought he seemed disposed to quit the single state. A.R.H's character was so distinguished that it seems hardly necessary to particularize virtues so well known & so much esteemed. Born with talents superior to most, he acquired in early life a fund of learning attained by few. Yet however valuable these mental possessions were to his acquaintance, or however valued by himself, he found it essentially necessary to his peace – at about thirty years of age when he lost a valuable mother, whose latter days had been visited by the most affecting disease incident to humanity – he found it essentially necessary to sell all, take up his daily cross, & follow a self denying Master. After a severe conflict he became as one of those little children who, we are told, shall inherit the kingdom, & I think I never in the course of many years observation, met with any instance in which the power of religion shone with more undiminished lustre – the more so perhaps for

the change being so striking. Of his large temporal possessions, the poor, the fatherless, & the widow, often partook. His table, his house, & his purse were open to the destitute & afflicted of every class without distinction of names; for his benevolence was unbounded. With all this, he had some singularities in his person & manner that were generally taken notice of by strangers.

13th. John Codrington of Exeter & his wife breakfasted with us at Mark Harford's. I was greatly pleased with his company, as in his conversation eminently appeared the man of feeling & sentiment. On this same day I also first saw Samuel Emlen²³ of Philadelphia & his agreeable wife, - a very sensible religious woman, a native gentle-woman both in form & manner, very pretty, exceedingly attached to her country (America).²⁴

S. Emlen's person was singular, little, & ordinary; but such was his address that when heard to converse the prejudice occasioned by his person gave way to admiration of his good sense & affability. Having had a good education, with much intercourse in the world by travelling, his company was generally interesting, instructive & pleasing; & all these agreeable qualities were sanctified by religion. He had often something to say in meetings, but I apprehend now came over for his health; he appeared week {weak} & poorly.

16th. S. & E. Emlen breakfasted at Stoke after which he preached, & it was received in that love from whence it proceeded.

August 14th. At the marriage of James Fox & M. Bush, to which I was invited three days before by J.F., who came to Stoke for that purpose, being disappointed of his sister's company, her mother being too ill for her to attend. Thomas Rutter was engaged in supplication, particularly for the bride. From this meeting he went his first journey.

We spent a very comfortable day at the bride's father's. Berry Fox, brother to James, was of the company, & appeared, both in person & manner, very agreeable. He was near marriage himself with Betsey Were of Wellington. Sukey & I staid with the bride till 11 o'clock & breakfasted with them the next morning; after which I went to Stoke with my aunt, but drank tea with them in a large company the following First day, & on the next morning they left Bristol. I took leave of them with regret, yet well pleased with my friend's prospect, of such a husband as falls to the lot of few.

September 15th. I set out for Crewkerne with Hetty Young to a Circular Meeting^g in my way to Exmouth to see my sister; & with a hope of her

^g For a note of these Circular Meetings see W. Tanner's "Three Lectures" p 133, where, in a note, this identical Meeting is referred to as held in the Market House by permission of Earl Pawlett. {J.F.??}

return with me. The company was poorly accom{m}odated. Catherine Peyton & Jonah Thompson were the principal ministers & both gave general satisfaction. After the meetings were over, I accompanied several friends to the Quarterly Meeting at Chard. The company at our inn was select though large, & consisted of W^m Fry & Bill Logan from Bristol, Sam^l Emlen & his wife, Richard Painter of Bath, (a minister of truly valuable character) Vicris Dickenson²⁵ & his wife, their eldest son & their daughter, Bill Elliot of London, Joseph Beck, his wife & two daughters, and, I think, W^m Buller. The latter was a man of character so singular, with virtues & frailties so blended that it is not easy to give a resemblance. He was born at Honiton in Devonshire but had long resided in London, where he had joined our Society, of which at first he became a very strict member & afterwards a minister, which he still was though much altered. He was bred a Presbyterian, but seemed to be naturally unsteady. His understanding was much above the common level, & though he might be allowed to have peculiarities of temper, he had many requisites for friendship, & would do much to promote the interests of his friends.

I have been thus particular in my account of this company, as this was a day which made a great impression on my mind, & has, since this journal was first begun, occasioned many reflections there, not only on the vicissitude of human events but [of] the human mind. For some of those mentioned in it have proved affecting instances of human frailty, & may serve to teach us how liable the best are to err, if off their watch; & how little we can depend on our own strength. Indeed I have often thought that those who are most favoured to know the best state, are most tempted by the grand enemy of our happiness, who to such often transforms himself into an angel of light and, by imperceptable degrees draws the mind from the centre of peace. Of this company more than half are since dead. I accompanied Betsy Beck in a chaise, & so softened were our minds by the separation from many of our friends & so sweet the impression of the preceeding evening, that we rode some miles in silence, being unwilling to loose so pleasant an enjoyment. W^m Buller went with us & took us to see his mother as we passed through Honiton. We arrived at Exeter by tea time after a very comfortable ride, but I was disappointed at not finding my sister at my cousin Sanders's, as she preferred receiving me at Exmouth; where, after dinner I found her & M. Lloyd at a little neat lodging consisting of a parlour, bed-chamber, & the use of a kitchen – the whole for 4s per week. A week or two, in this situation passed away very agreeably, every day bringing some new engagement – many pleasing ones the sea side affords.

December 6th. In consequence of an invitation to the marriage of Betsy Fry^h with Thomas Frank,²⁶ I waited ready dressed all the morning, but was prevented going till after dinner on account of a violent rain which my aunt was fearful of trusting her horses in. I got to their house in the Old Market²⁷ [No 20] by tea-time, found a large company but the bride very low. She expressed to me some uneasiness she felt respecting something said by Thomas Rutter at meeting in the morning. We parted about eleven o'clock.

Though in my account of this year little mention is made of my visit to my friends J. & M. Dallaway, my uncle C's, & J. Fry's – yet were they very frequent. With S. & E. Emlen I also spent many agreeable, many profitable hours.

1765

January 1st 1765. At Mark Harford's with S. & E. Emlen. Either in this or the following week, Sukey, Hetty, & myself were at a meeting at Newgate with Thomas Rutter, my aunt Rogers &c. Whilst he preached some of the prisoners were much affected.

12th. Patience Chester, daughter to a worthy apothecary of Bristol, Francis Freeman, to whom J. Fry succeeded, spent the day with us at Stoke, with Betsy Robinson, an agreeable woman & a good minister, between whom & Mark Harford, there ever appeared much sympathy.

15th. Dined at my brother's (who had lately taken a house in James Square). On this day heard the account of the death of Berry Fox after a very short illness. He had been married but a few months.

May 5th. I went to Bristol to the Yearly Meeting. Drank tea at E. Dodshon's, an agreeable woman & much of a gentlewoman – an harmonious delivery not unpleasing. – She might be called a considerable minister & had been settled in Bristol some months.

9th. Went to Lawrence Weston's meeting with M. Harford whose mind at this time was under great religious impressions. We dined at the inn with Jonah Thompson, Thomas Rutter &c.

23rd. At my Brother's where W^m Buller (who was now become intimate) spent the evening. Here I staid till the 1st of July being confined with a sore throat. In this interval my cousin Edward Lloyd was taken ill. His disorder was violent & short for he died on the 29th of June.

^h A daughter of Zephaniah Fry of Fishponds, who was, I believe, a brother of John Fry of Sutton Berger – J.F.

August 25th at Lawrence Weston meeting with T. Rutter & W^m Buller who were become frequent companions.

31st. Sent for to my sister who was very ill. [After a while] she was relieved, but was again, in two or three nights after, so bad that she was thought to be in imminent danger from the violent pain in her bowels. But the pain abating, she soon grew better, & it pleased Him in whose hands our lives are, mercifully to lengthen our {out} her's & yet spare her to her friends. My mind & the mind of my beloved companion Sukey Rogers, were much tried at beginning of this illness. Thomas Rutter soon paid us a religious visit & preached very comfortably – "This sickness is not unto death but unto the glory of God." W^m Cookworthy was in Bristol, & drank tea with us in the chamber of sickness. Fanny Dodshon & Lydia Pocock at another time visited us. L. Pocock as valuable as ancient, universally respected for her consistent conduct in every character she was called to support, was well-esteemed in the ministry, in which she appeared with peculiar modesty, not ambitious of the highest seat in the synagogue, but desirous of doing her duty in as quiet a way as possible, yet was she uncommonly lively & quick in her feelings, & active in the business of life. She was a widow with a strait income, but her disposition generous & benevolent. My brother & Sister Champion & our friends J. & M. Dallaway, were often our kind visitors & not seldom W. Buller – A. R. Hawsworth often, & sometimes T. Rutter.

November 12th. I left my two friends Sukey & Hetty with great reluctance & returned to Stoke, from whence I soon accompanied my aunt to Mark Harford's for the winter.

December 1st. I dined at my uncle's with my father, who paid him a visit of a fortnight.

19th. I attended by invitation the funeral of Frank Dickenson, a youth of about 12 years old, son of Vicris & Elizth. Dickenson, whose loss was lamented by his friends in proportion as he was beloved by them. It is difficult to say whether he was most distinguished by his superior abilities, or amiable disposition. In a day or two after the funeral we visited his father & mother at the White Hart in the Old Market. F. Dodshon was with them & engaged in supplication on their behalf, they appeared to feel their loss, yet to be in a resigned state to the great Father, who had seen fit to remove their child to an abode more suited for such purity as his mind seemed clothed with. It was her darling child – the one on whom all her pains has been bestowed & all her cares centered.

1766

January 1st. My uncle Champion, who had long been complaining of a gradual decline of health & strength, & who had been some days confined to

his chamber, unexpectedly came down stairs to dinner. He appeared exceedingly weak in body, & not with his usual clearness of understanding, but said he had a desire to dine with his family, which that day consisted of my father, who with his wife & youngest son was on a visit to him, my aunt Champion, her daughter & three sons who with my sister & myself withdrew after dinner, thinking the company too large for him. Fanny Dodshon,²⁸ with whose company he was always pleased, came to tea. He was persuaded to retire early, & never afterwards quitted his chamber – seldom his bed. He mostly lay quiet, & seemed to have much of the simplicity of a child about him; & when any of us went up to see him he would generally say, “Is meeting done?” “Who had you at meeting?”, at which place he had ever been an exemplary attendant.

On the 9th he died as he had lived, & no doubt inherited the blessing pronounced on the peace-makers. He was indeed a great loss to his family, many of whom knew not his real value, so much were they looking to the gold he possessed. He disposed well of his effects, & was buried at Redcliff yard attended by a numerous company from his own house. On the 19th my father quitted Bristol.

March. At J. Fry’s with T. Rutter, G. Bawm & many others, to hear a lecture from Ferguson.

11th. Dined there with A. R. Hawsworth & Charles Dormer - a person patronized by A.R.H. He had been in the Prussian army, & now frequented our meetings. He appeared to be a gentleman & a man of sense. In five days I accompanied my aunt to Stoke for the summer.

22nd. After attending the meetings, dining at my aunt Champion’s & drinking tea at A.R.H.’s, I staid in town with my sister Champion who was that night confined with a little girl. I sat up with my new niece in my lap, but my spirits were too much worn by the occurrences of the day to enjoy a circumstance truly pleasing. The occasion in particular that had this day painfully engaged my attention happened at the morning meeting, where T.R. had preached warmly against a point of doctrine to which W^m Buller endeavoured to gain his assent. Whether the opinions were right or wrong, W.B. had I doubt not, pushed the subject improperly; & perhaps T.R. could not be acquitted of temper in his opposition to it.

One evening this week I went with my brother to hear George Whitefield,²⁹ who appeared possessed of the pathetic powers & drew some strikingly solemn descriptions, but intermixed with stories & a levity of manner inconsistent with a gospel discourse. He also quoted many authors with whom, I suppose, most of his audience, as well as myself, were unacquainted.

26th. I was sent for to Stoke on account of my aunt's being taken ill. From this time untill the 17th of April I was almost wholly with her. In this interval Andrews Lloyd, a brother of my aunt Rogers to whom she was nearly attached & who was distinguished by his humane & worthy character was suddenly seized with a paralytic stroke.

This confinement at Stoke was on many accounts a melancholy time to me, not only in an attendance on my aunt, with whom I often sat up, but in being so seldom able to visit my friends in Bristol or to see my sister. Some other occurrences, too, much distressed & perplexed me. However, it all drove me near to that place in which alone is safety under all the storms of life, where I experienced much inward comfort.

June 4th. Came down stairs to dinner [after a severe attack of ague & fever] & in the following week or ten days rode to Stoke, Barton Hundred & the Wells. W^m James a young minister from Cornwall, drank tea with us one afternoon; after which he engaged in supplication for our preservation from being too much concerned in matters of speculation. W^m Buller spent the evening, who had for some time quitted the gallery, & was much, though gradually altering.

11th. Dined with Sukey & Hetty at Stoke previous to accompanying my sister to Cheltenham. We spent the evening at J. Fry's with A. R. H[awksworth] & Arthur Portsmouth. This is a period of my life that I cannot well pass over without observing that it was distinguishingly marked with that sort of comfort that is not dependent on the world or its concerns. My brother, sister, Sukey Rogers, & myself were, in a peculiar manner, united in the pursuit of the "one thing needful"; & a reflection of the happiness we then enjoyed, with regrets that I imperceptibly let the world gain entrance into my mind that had known better things, is often painful to me to think of; but this deluding world advanced in a new garb. It is my opinion that places of public resort are, of all others, the most calculated for dissipation.

On the 13th of June 1766, we set out for Cheltenham. My brother accompanied us, & as soon as he saw us settled in lodgings, left us. Our first walk was to the meeting house which was pleasantly situated in a lane about a quarter of a mile from the town. There was a pretty court before the door, on one side of which were three tenements for the poor belonging to the Society – on the other, a very neat garden. This garden was in the possession of an old man near ninety, who with his daughter inhabited one of these tenements. They kept it exceedingly neat & raised flowers in it for sale. Many of the company at the season resorted to this place & visited the old man & his worthy daughter, whose appearance altogether, as well as her complexion, answered the idea of old times when damsels were, by tending sheep &c., much exposed to the sun. She was an elderly woman. Her extreme neatness, with the great age of her father, & their pretty little abode,

gained much of our attention; & we often visited them during our stay at Cheltenham. The meetings were held on the 1st days & once in the week & generally consisted of about 12 people. The old man often exhorted them, but was never, I believe, an approved minister.

Whilst we were at Cheltenham we one evening unexpectedly met Catherine Peyton on the walks with whom we spent the evening at Betty White's, & the next morning accompanied her to the walks & pump room & afterwards to meeting, where she had a large audience & gave general satisfaction by an excellent discourse.

The beginning of August we had a visit from my brother, James Dallaway & W. Clark of Tewksbury. W. Hopton came with them, & a day or two after we went to Gloucester & with my brother, dined there with W. & J. Dallaway. W.D. was high sheriff for the county this year. My sister & I returned to Cheltenham soon enough to take our evening's amusements & the walks. The cause of this being generally frequented by us was the company, both morning & evening, who attended us there. Every thing independent of this amusement except the company of W. Hopton & the visit of my brother, was received by us as an interruption to our pleasures. We left Cheltenham on the 12th of September [and on arriving at Bristol] drove to my aunt Rogers at the Irongates.

October 9th. At meeting where was married W^m James to Prissy Moon, on whom we called the next morning.

In December Thomas Whitehead from London was in Bristol, with whom I spent an evening at my brother's. He was a minister who used to be at my uncle's, & who had long laboured under a paralytic stroke. Both in public & private, he appeared to be most affectionately concerned for the welfare of others.

At the close of this year our esteemed friend Elizth Emlen appeared to be in the last stage of consumption. She had two little boys both born in England – the eldest a remarkably fine boy – the other (called Samuel after his father) was delicate & seemed to partake of his mother's complaints. Both were at nurse at Kingswood, their mother having been frequently removed with a hope of her amendment. On their leaving America, it was generally feared by their friends that they would not both live to return, thinking he would not survive long; so little is to be judged by appearances in any thing so uncertain as the duration of life.

1767

January 11th. On this day, at their lodgings in Orchard Street, died Elizabeth Emlen. Her illness, though lingering, she bore with great patience. After

taking an affectionate leave of her husband, she lay a little still & then quietly ceased to breathe, quitting a state of suffering in much fitness for the solemn change. In a few days, with my aunt, I paid them a visit. We found him much affected with his loss, under which he behaved as one who had properly learned the great duty of resignation. On the 18th we attended the remains of our dear friend to Friar's meeting, from whence she was interred in the yard adjoining.

Feb^y 7th. Went with Anna Fry & my sister to meet her husband & Sukey Roger at Cross on their return from Exeter, where we dined, & in a few days after, with Fanny Dodshon, Sukey, Hetty, & Sam^l Emlen, we visited his children at Downend.

March 11th. To hear John Wesley,³⁰ in which I was much disappointed. He dwelt chiefly on an account of his former persecutions & was short.

May 17th. Yearly Meeting [Bristol] attended by Samuel Fothergill.³¹ In the course of this week were delivered those sermons since printed & so universally & deservedly admired; but S.F. was too well known & distinguished for his eminent ministry & for his powers of oratory for anything to be necessarily said of him in that character. It is not possible for me, by any language I have yet learned, to convey what were my feelings whilst I listened as to an angel's voice. I remember some years before being present whilst he was addressing the youth; "O you who in a state of comparative innocency often lift up your hearts to God – to you who have not known the depths of Satan &c" – on this occasion {sic}, I have seen the tears stealing down the cheeks of the thoughtless, improving beauty's bloom, & all that seemed to obstruct the power of religion melted away as wax before the sun. One afternoon this week, Sukey, Hetty, & myself drank tea with him at Stoke. His conversation was animated & instructive & in his behaviour the Christian & the gentleman were united. Goodness in him appeared truly engaging. In the course of conversation he related the particulars of a journey he had taken some years ago through the deserts of America, from which he drew in lively colours a parallel of the journey of life. The following evening my brother, my sisters, & myself spent with him, in a large company, at T. Frank's in the Old Market, where after supper he was engaged in testimony & supplication. On the 26th we were present at Frenchay where he delivered the discourse & prayer published, as were all those at Bristol.

June 10th. On paying an afternoon visit to Vicris Dickenson's, met with Sally Weston,ⁱ a young woman who had been brought up in gay life & much

ⁱ Afterwards Sally Young. She was an intimate friend of R. Scudamore who is mentioned in the next paragraph, and wrote an account of her which was published

admired; her uncle, with whom she had lived, having from his situation, had opportunities of introducing her into company above her rank. But in the midst of scenes generally thought amusing, she felt their insufficiency to satisfy the wants of an immortal nature, & retiring from them all, sought an acquaintance with herself, & thus learned that it was not in the gratifications of sense but in “renouncing the pomps & vanities of this world,” she could attain that happiness which her mind panted after. At this time she knew not much of our Society which she afterwards joined. I thought her very agreeable.

11th. Paid a morning visit to R. Scudamore at the Park, a very agreeable woman, who in this interview told me she had been awakened to a sense of religion by an uninterrupted series of prosperity.^j

July. After spending a little time at my brothers, my sister & myself on the 16th again set out for Cheltenham. On our way thither we saw Lord Bathurst’s woods, with Mark Harford & my brother who accompanied us & saw us settled in lodgings at the widow Shelicom’s. She was a worthy woman & a constant attender of our little meetings, but in circumstances which made the trouble of letting lodgings quite unnecessary. The well was the property of this family. This year we renewed our acquaintance with those in the place & neighbourhood who visited us last year, & also attended a tea [party] of Lord Tracy’s, whose solicitations, seconded by inclination, took from us the power of refusing.

Oct 16th. We left Cheltenham after having spent three months in a pleasing but dangerous delusion – a kind of delirium fostered & carried on by many in a superior station. I have long since been of opinion it is safest & best to endeavour as much as possible to confine our intercourse to those who have been educated in much the same line as ourselves. W. Hopton, his sister E. Dallaway & some of the Southam family, accompanied us to Brinscomb{e}, where we arrived at the hospitable abode of W^m Dallaway, & were met there by our friends J. & M. Dallaway & Sukey Rogers.

19th. We left Brinscomb & got to my brother’s by tea time, but lodged at my aunt Rogers’ from whence the next day I went to Stoke.

in Bristol in 1790. Much of her own experience is related in the same account, it having been much intermixed with that of R.S. – J.F.

^j The memoir referred to in the preceding note clearly shows that the word “by” here used, can only mean “on” or “during”. The first half of R.S.’s life was, as above described, one of great outward prosperity. The latter half, after she had become the partaker of spiritual religion, was very otherwise. Without any fault of her own, she was cast off by his {her} husband with an allowance of £60 per year. She was a valued friend of Mary Dudley. – J.F.

22nd. Called at George Champion's to see his new wife (Sukey Dimsdale of Hertford) to whom he had been married about three months. She was pretty, genteel, & agreeable, with a diffidence in her manner that gave her on her entrance into a room, an air peculiarly pleasing.

November 1st. Came to town for a week or two. Took a walk with my sister in the rope walk to enjoy uninterrupted conversation & read letters.

1768

1768 March 20th. Went with my niece & nephew Eliza & J. L. Champion to the inoculating house at Barton Hill, opened by one of Sutton's partners, Abraham Ludlow & John Ford³² – a very commodious house fitted for the reception of many patients, & under good regulations. After the operation was performed we brought them home till they sickened, & then sent they {them} back with a servant who was to be subject to the rules of the house.

April 4th. The children being pretty well, whom we had seen most afternoons at the inoculating house, I went to Stoke with my aunt for the summer.

May 1st. The Yearly Meeting [Bristol]. The principal minister C. Payton, with whom on the fourth, we spent the evening at A. R. Hawksworth's.

July 29th. At Frenchay meeting, where was S. Neale of Ireland, with whom I had a few days before, drunk tea at M. Harford's & supped at T. Frank's. After meeting we dined & drank tea with him & John Elliot at J. Beck's.

Augt 1st. Left Stoke in order to go to Cheltenham with my brother & sisters. We staid there till the 14th of September. Having spent so much time with my brother & sister C. & with each other, we found a great reluctance to separate, which produced a resolution in my sister & myself to live with them. There had been from infancy an uncommon affection subsisting between us, it had been my favourite wish that we might live together, & now it seemed as if the desire was almost irresistibile. My aunt Lloyd & M. Harford's family had been for some time united, which, I flattered myself set me at liberty; but I did not immediately declare my intentions, fearing her dislike to parting with me, thinking it would come on better gradually (Perhaps inclination alone dictated this change of abode. Every step we take is an important one, & inclination is often a very mistaken guide. Though we were very happy together, yet I fear it was of no real advantage to any of us – to my sister & myself particularly.)

Oct (?) 15th. In the morning of this day Lydia Hawksworth³³ came to see us. She had been for some months married to A. R. Hawksworth. She was from Alton & her maiden name Waring. A natural reserve made her difficult of access, which often drew on her from those unacquainted with her merit the reputation of pride. She was a woman of very good understanding, & owed

little to books. There was something in her manner to those whom she liked & with whom she conversed with freedom peculiarly attractive. She was of the same generous disposition to the poor as her husband, & yet, in many respects, there did not seem to be a suitability between them. But the time drew near in which it pleased his heavenly father to call him home, for on the 29th October, A. R. Hawksworth departed this life after a few day's illness of fever. The universal regard & respect felt for him by the city in general, as well as by the Society of which he was so usefull a member, occasioned universal regret for his loss. I think I never knew a private person so much lamented. & as he so well fulfilled the duty & followed the precept of visiting "the fatherless & the widow in their affliction & to keep himself unspotted from the world," so did the tears of many such give proof of their grateful regard. His remains were interred from Friar's Meeting in Redcliffe Burying Ground. The house was much crowded on the occasion. During the time of solemn silence around the coffin, Lydia his widow, stood up & delivered a few words, in an awful,^k affecting manner, to the surprise of many, this being the first time of her public appearance. In the interval between his death & burial, Sukey, Hetty, & myself, visited the widow, whose mother was with her.

November 9th. S.S. & 8 other gentlemen at dinner. S.S. seldom passed unnoticed in company. He had very superior abilities & an address very insinuating, having the art of making one pleased with oneself, without descending to the meanness of flattery. But his good sense & plausible manners wanted their best recommendation, good principles, as his conduct but too plainly demonstrated. He had long loved a very agreeable, sensible girl, eminent for her personal attractions; but though he had gained her affections, his character was an obstacle she could not overcome. He had been her preceptor in some branches of learning, tho' by profession a surgeon. Her mother, notwithstanding she was a sensible & worthy woman, acted in this matter like too many inconsiderate parents, who, if they do not push their children to the brink of a precipice, suffer their inexperienced feet to wander to its verge, & are then surprised or disappointed if they fall from it. Those who have the care of young women cannot be too careful how they suffer the other sex to assist in their education.

16th. Drank tea at Thomas Rutter's who in the course of this year had married Ruth Waring, sister to Lydia Hawksworth.¹ She was a religious woman of an affectionate disposition, kind to her friends, & exceedingly attached to her husband.

^k Laying her hand on the coffin. {SCF?} See notice of L. H. in Piety Promoted. Vol IX. {J.F.}

¹ They were both daughters of Samuel and Deborah Waring of Alton, Hants.

1769

1769 Jan^y 22nd. W^m Buller brought his sister to tea. He had for some time quitted our Society, appeared as a Methodist, & frequented their meetings.

April 23rd. The Yearly Meeting. C. Taylor in Bristol.

24th. Drank tea at the Irongates with S. Emlen & J. Cockfield who was candidate for the affections of the amiable Polly Beck.

25th. Dined at L. H[awksworth]'s with C. Payton & Jonah Thompson.

June 3rd. Saw the transit of Venus at Stoke.

Nov 29th. My sister Champion confined with a little girl who was called Hetty after my [own] sister.

[End of 1769] Clouds were now beginning to obscure the sunshine of prosperity, & perhaps the time was approaching when the film was to be mercifully, in some measure, removed from our eyes, & we were enabled in time to behold we had doated on

“a region of outsides, a land of shadows

“A fruitful field of flowery promises.”

1770

Jan 16th. Set out for the West with Sukey & Hetty [Roger]. This excursion was taken pretty much with a view to the health of both my friends. We spent a few days at Exeter & then proceeded to Plymouth on a visit to our friends J. & M. Fox. We had not been long there before we received an account that our little niece Hetty [Champion] was dangerously ill, & a wish was expressed by my brother that we would return home. At Exeter we rested a day, & on the 2nd of Feb. lodged at Taunton, where we were in danger of meeting with an accident. Some paper, which had been thrown into the fire, caught my apron, & it burnt so rapidly that I soon felt the heat of it in my face. After some illjudged attempts to extinguish it, my sister effected it by tearing the tape off with her fingers, by which they appeared scorched. This accident made a considerable impression on our minds – in mine it was not soon effaced. The next day we arrived home in safety, & found the child much better, though still very delicate.

March 1st. My aunt Champion's family & Sukey Cookworthy spent the day with us. S. Cookworthy was the youngest daughter of W^m C. & a very pleasing girl.

April. My sister Champion was very ill & in May continued in a weak state. My [own] sister's complaints were daily increasing, & Sukey R.'s cough, which till lately had been considered constitutional, began to wear an alarming appearance. It was thought necessary by A. Ludlow who was now

become intimate in the family, that all should remove into the country. We accordingly engaged some lodgings at Henbury to which our family removed on the 28th May.

On the 13th of May was the Yearly Meeting at which was Rachel Wilson, a very agreeable woman [mother of Sarah Abbott] from the North of England – a celebrated minister. She drank tea with my brother, sisters, & myself, in the Old Market in the day preceeding the Yearly Meeting. Sukey Rogers soon joined us at Henbury but she grew visibly worse.

June 15th. Being alone with Sukey, she acknowledged to me her apprehensions respecting the event of her illness – which now appeared to have every symptom of a decline. She said when she thought of her mother, & what she would probably feel on the subject, she could not bear to reflect upon it. For herself she did not seem to feel; - nor had she need – few were so well prepared. For my own part, I shut my eyes from the affecting prospect. It seemed as if I could not give her up.

July 4th. At meeting at the marriage of Polly Champion with Joe Beck. We dined in James' Square, after which we went to the bride's house, my aunt C's, where we spent the evening. W^m Cookworthy was of the company.

September 18th. To Bristol to meet Sukey [Rogers] on her return from the west [where she had been for the benefit of sea air]. She appeared to be greatly altered for the worse. Upon her observing my sister affected by it, she aimed at removing her apprehensions by remarking that though her strength might be decreased, yet her complaints were also lessened. She had lodgings taken for her at the Wells as a last effort. Thither I went to meet her & staid that night. [In a day or two] I again went & spent the evening with Sukey alone, in consequence of her requesting my assistance in settling her will. She introduced it in as easy a manner as possible, for her principal pleasure was, as it had ever been, to conceal from her friends anything she thought would give them pain. She was now in a state from which there was little hope of recovery.

25th. We hear at A. Ludlows of the sudden removal of Polly Cockfield (youngest daughter of J. Beck) the simplicity of whose mind & manners taught all who knew to love her. She had been only a few months married, & in the morning about 5 o'clock she found herself ill. On her husband proposing to rise to get her something, she objected saying she believed she should get to sleep – from which sleep she awoke, no doubt, on a happy immortality! For on her husband waking at the usual hour, he found her dead by his side! She was before her marriage in a complaining state – it was supposed from breaking a blood vessel in running.

October 24th. My sister & myself passed with Sukey. It was our last visit though we knew it not; as, to human appearance, there was little probability

of her being so near her change. The following day was fixed for her to return to her mother's (who was & had for some time been with her) when I was to accompany my sister to Castle Green in order to stay with our beloved friend the short remainder of her life. My sister was, at this time, so ill that we had but little more hopes of her recovery; & their friends, knowing their great affection for each other, endeavoured as much as possible to prevent their being together, fearing their anxiety for each other might prove an injury to both.

25th of October – these words only I find in my journal of that day. It continued a blank for many years. At the affecting period, I looked forward to one more distant, when the mind, though not less valuing the memory of the amiable deceased, might yet have acquired strength sufficient to enter on a subject still as interesting, yet less tender. & did not recollection connect some painful feelings, arising from a concurrence of causes, that imbitter the remembrance, & lessened the consolations at the period of our beloved Sukey's departure, I could now dwell upon the subject with a soothing tender regret that would be far from distressing. For many years' experience since, & my observation of the many & almost continual trials that must, from the situation of her own family, have inevitably fallen to her lot, have, in some measure, reconciled me to my own temporary loss. For much do I desire at the close of my own life, to be enabled to look forward to a union with my friend in an eternal state. I cannot doubt but that friendships begun on earth, if formed on the right basis, "will survive the grave." When I wish to draw a character so excellent, I feel myself at a loss. For to the best of my recollection, there was not one flaw in it – not one foible that the power of religion had not subdued. Early she devoted herself & all her faculties to its service, "for her infant hands were early lifted up, & she soon learned to know & acknowledge the God of her fathers." The first religious impressions she appeared to have received were at Frenchay school then kept by the widow Rutter – a worthy woman whom many have cause gratefully to remember & were entrusted to her care – a striking contrast this school, to most of the boarding schools with which this age unhappily abounds. Little more is necessary to be said of the many virtues our beloved friend possessed, nor could language effect it. They must dwell on the memory of those favoured with her friendship in characters never to be erased. Her affability & kindness secured her the universal regard of her acquaintance – even those who were far from imitating an example so excellent. The morning after her disease I accompanied my sister to the Wells, as she could not be prevailed upon to forego seeing the remains of the beloved companion of his {her} childhood & youth. The remembrance of her grief preceeding this request being granted her, as well as this scene, I cannot even now dwell upon. It was a solemn occasion. I waited in an adjoining apartment, not choosing to add by my own feelings to scenes so

distressing. For I had not only lost one friend & companion, but expected, ere long, to be deprived of the other. We stopped on our return at my aunt R's, as it was my sister's desire to see her also; but she said she was not able to support such an interview. She was indeed greatly affected at the loss of such a child; yet she bore it as one who had learned patience in the school of adversity. It is omitted to be mentioned that the evening previous to our beloved friend's removal from this world to a better, she sat up till near 10 o'clock, was cheerful & retired to rest tolerably well, but early in the morning was seized with symptoms of approaching dissolution & soon expired, only saying she hoped she should go through it with patience. Her mother, her sister Sally & the nurse were with her.

In a day or two after this event our friends M. Fox & Betsey. Fox came from Plymouth. They left home with an intention of paying the deceased a visit, of whose removal though they heard at Exeter, they came forward. With whom I attended the funeral at Friar's meeting, but did not accompany them to the yard at Redcliffe. My sister continued in a very ill state of health the whole winter.

1771

March 1771. In this month Thomas Rutter paid my sister a religious visit, at which I was not present, he wishing to be alone with her. On his going away I found her very comfortable. She was now so ill there was little or no hope of her recovery. L. Hawsworth, S. Stephenson, & Anna Fry also paid her a visit.

April 21st. My aunt Lloyd & S. Harford [her daughter] drank tea with us, & afterwards the former went to Stoke accompanied by S. Rogers (the wife of Corsley R.) as my sister's health did not admit of my going with her as I used to do, preparatory to her son & daughter Harford's removing there for the summer. She had been that morning blooded – a habit she had long been too frequent in, for she was at this time, to appearance, in usual health. But the next evening she was seized with a shivering fit; & though she was so much better the following morning as to take a ride to town in order to fetch the infant & its nurse, yet she was so ill on getting out of her chariot that she was unable to walk up the stairs without assistance. She was immediately put to bed, from which she never rose. By this time the orifice where she had been blooded had every appearance of mortification, though the next day there did not seem to be much alteration. But on the following she altered fast, & in the afternoon she grew delirious, and, about seven in the evening, expired. Her daughter, my aunt Rogers nurse M. & myself were present. Thus at more than 70 years of age, a trifling accident seemed the means of putting an end to a life that had so often, at different parts of it, seemed so near to a period; though from the time I remember her she had enjoyed

tolerable health compared to some years before. Notwithstanding her countenance had a melancholy cast, she was sometimes very cheerful, & loved to see young people so. She took much pains, the latter part of her life, to correct a temper naturally anxious & suspicious, which occasionally made her unhappy. The funeral was at Redcliffe yard the 1st of May.

December. In the course of this month my sister's health & strength enough improved for her occasionally to attend meetings & visit her friends. Once from the Irongates I accompanied S. Farley³⁴ to Newgate to see a young woman who had been recommended to her notice. This place exhibited many affecting scenes. One object at my entrance forcibly struck me. A man with arms folded & legs crossed in an attitude & with a countenance of despair. We found his reason disordered – probably occasioned by his distressed situation. It has often been a painful, as well as astonishing consideration to me that in a nation so celebrated for benevolence, the laws should allow one man to confine another for a debt he is unable to pay. If he has property, his creditors have an undoubted right to it – but let the man be free. He may then be enabled to procure for himself the means of subsistence. The idea of a human being's wishing to deprive a fellow being of liberty is, to me, wholly unaccountable but from basest motives – malice & revenge. Still more amazing is it that a people professing Christianity – professing to be followers of a self-denying Master, who had not where to lay his sacred head, who when He was reviled, reviled not again, should attempt, to take from a fellow creature that liberty to which he has even a natural right. The close of a year in which much sorrow fell to my lot.

1772

1772 May. Joe Hoare, eldest son of Samuel Hoare, of Newington, being at the Wells for his health, renewed a slight acquaintance. He was an agreeable young man, but had many symptoms of a decline.

17th. The Yearly Meeting. C. P[ayton] in town.

19th We heard the affecting account that Joe Beck was given over in a fever of only a few days continuance. On the next morning, in my way to meeting, I found that he expired the evening before. His friends had no apprehension of danger till a few hours before – a distressing event to a young wife, & she felt it in its full force. His valuable parents too were greatly affected by the loss of their only son. At this morning meeting the circumstance was pathetically alluded to by C. Payton.

July. Drank tea with the Wesley family at Dr. L[udlow's].

13th. We breakfasted at Joe Hoare's lodgings at the Wells, where we unexpectedly met Sam^l Emlen, who only staid a few days in Bristol. After

breakfast we had a meeting at which he was earnestly & affectionately engaged, addressing many of the company individually. To my sister he began with the words, "She whom Jesus loveth is sick." It fo{r}cibly & gratefully impressed our minds that the conduct of our valued friend, S. Emlen, should express no diminution of that regard he had felt for us at seasons that were passed, when it was manifest we loved such company as himself more than at the present time.

October 4th. We left the country & returned to my brother's.

16th. Charles Beaufoy of Evesham & Sarah Rogers were married at the Friar's meeting. I was present & spent the evening at the house. The company large, but not cheerful. In about ten days, they went to Evesham.

1773

1773 January 4th. At the funeral of a young man from America who died in lodgings at College Green, after a lingering illness. He was one of the company at Joe Hoare's at the Wells the day S. Emlen had a meeting there.

February. My brother in London with Sam^l Peach³⁵ in order to oppose our having a patent to the Playhouse – in which laudable design they succeeded.

16th. At the meeting house door I met Philip Debell Tuckett from Plymouth. Being uncommonly pleased with his person & address, & considering him as the future husband of an intimate friend E. Fox, I envited him to visit us, & on the next day he come to dinner.

May 9th was the Yearly Meeting at which attended C. Philips (late C. Payton) & Rachel Wilson.

20th. A day the remembrance of which, I trust, dwells in a solemn manner upon my mind; my sister & myself having been remarkably preserved when in eminent danger, & our lives mercifully lengthened out, no doubt for wise purposes. Such events are loud calls to devote the life thus preserved to the great Preserver. On the morning of the 20th Inst we left Henbury in order to take the journey we had planned with W. Hopton (in the hope of its usefulness to my sister's health) a fortnight before. We expected W.H. would meet us that evening at Gloucester, & though the morning proved remarkably wet, yet, from the time of the year, expecting it would soon improve, we set out after breakfast with a servant & a driver whom we knew. We dined early at Newport & sent our man forward to get a fire & tea ready about half way. At Cambridge a village about 5 miles from Newport, the waters were out, but the driver expressing no fears, we made no objection to going thro' it; knowing besides that a hearse & coach had just passed it in safety. But we had not gone many yards in it before the shaft horse fell in a hole in the road which the water concealed, drew the other

after him, & overturned the chaise into the river; but with such violence, that it soon rebounded back & got upright, & the current being strong the horses swam towards the bridge. But the glasses being up the chaise filled gradually with water. We put one of them down to call for assistance, several men being standing on what appeared to us a bank, within hearing. They replied it was impossible to give us any help. My feelings at this solemn moment I cannot describe. Death appeared unavoidable – ideas seemed to crowd too fast for regular reflection. A watery grave in the vigour of life & in a state of health was not a subject for calm reflection. Yet I do not think I ever lost my recollection, & I particularly remember I endeavoured as much as possible to avoid seeing my sister's distress, by turning my head away from her. How long we were in this situation, I know not; but I recollect that we were soon surrounded by people, two of whom tried to draw us forcibly out of the side window, which as it was impossible to effect, served only to render our situation more painful. After the chaise filled with water it was inexpressibly cold, as only our heads were kept above it. We were afterwards told we remained in this state about half an hour, from the first till we were taken out, which was done by sawing the top of the door after the chaise was secured by poles about 12 feet deep. They had for some time before supported us by ropes round the waists, from which we found relief. The horses were drowned before we were got out of the chaise, but the driver gained the bank in safety. We were carried to the nearest house, & by some humane people put to bed, where by taking some brandy we were got warm. The person who was the instrument of our preservation, & whose name was Underwood, carried on a manufactory at this place, & his men being unable at this time to work, on account of the uncommon floods, were standing about at the time we were calling for help; & though, from not knowing how to set about it they had refused their assistance at first, yet from the moment they were directed by their master, no people could be more active. After we were in bed he enquired who were our friends, sent to Henbury to my brother & to Gloucester to the servant. From Gloucester soon arrived Charles Hellier, a young gentleman who lived at W. Dallaway's, afterward's, W.D's wife, & about 5 the next morning, from Bristol, my brother (who brought with him a servant maid, with clothes) with whom at about 10 o'clock, we were able to set out for Henbury where we arrived in the afternoon. My sister though she had a bad pain in her side & took cold, yet suffered less than we could have conceived possible. Indeed all things considered, we were both remarkably well. The two following days I felt unusually comfortable; but afterwards my spirits sank below what, till then, I think I ever experienced. My sister was also very low & had a very particular dream which affected her spirits. For three weeks we seldom left home, (except my sister riding to Wells for her health). To this place she one morning sent for me, on being poorly, & informed me she determined, if she

could persuade me to be easy, to accompany my aunt Rogers to Exeter, when she was once more going to her daughter Sanders.

June 16th. I accompanied my sister to the Irongate, slept with her there, & the next morning they set out for Exeter. During the remainder of the month I staid much with my sister Champion at Henbury.

On the 25th I went with the Brices to hear one Herries, a famous orator at Tucker Street Meeting, whom I did not like. On my way there, I sat down in the alcove at the Irongates in deep reflection on the friends I missed there & how many I had lost.

July 5th. Drank tea at S. Farley's with T. Rutter, Herries, Hannah More,³⁶ & G. Carout. In a few days after, I attended one of Herries's lectures on oratory. It had ever been with me a favourite subject, but at this time I was disappointed, as his manner appeared to me strained & unnatural; & nothing that has not ease & energy joined can be eloquence.

In the course of the month, spent an evening at Frenchay with H. Rogers, going from thence to Friar's meeting whence was interred Betty Wall.

29th. Received a letter some time after I was in bed from my sister, by which I learned she was, with my aunt Rogers, expected the next day. In this letter I discovered that her views & persuits appeared to be wholly changed – circumstances calculated to afford comfort, but which at this time affected me much. I wept, I knew not why, I feared, I know not what. My feelings & apprehensions had no determinate object, yet I thought I foresaw, as in perspective, a train of sufferings in succession for a beloved sister. Early next morning I went to town with a view of being ready to receive them in the evening. In this expectation I was disappointed, as my aunt & Nurse Marsden had left my sister at Taunton, where she had consented to stay a few hours to accommodate a young person whose name was Fidy Berry, between whom & herself an acquaintance had been lately formed from the similarity each found just at this period, in each other's religious feelings. Fidy Berry's mother was reduced from a state of affluence to a small pittance on which herself & this daughter subsisted with the help of boarders. Fidy had a very susceptible mind. Her health was thought to have been injured by this reverse of fortune, which had been the means of scattering a large family. She had, for a long time, been in a poor state of health – greatly afflicted with that sort of complaints with are often, for want of a name, called nervous. The next day before dinner, they arrived; my sister so much altered & improved in her health by her late excursion as to give her friends cause to hope it was perfectly established.

Here seems to be another leaf turned over in the volume of my life, which I trust & hope promises more solid advantage than the last, which was on our first visiting Cheltenham.

Augt 1st, the day after my sister came to my aunt Rogers', we went over from morning meeting to Henbury. Two or three days after this, we had a visit from Abiah Darby & Ann Summerland, who in the course of what she had to deliver was prophetic in a manner & on a subject that corresponded with the dream mentioned of my sister's. This visit was, I apprehend, made to us in consequence of our late accident.

September 1st. Spent the evening with Joe Hoare at Stoke, who was going to Lisbon for his health. He never returned alive, dying either there or at Falmouth on board ship.

12th. Went to Lawrence Weston meeting in a coach with T. Rutter, P. D. Tuckett & my sister. We dined at Stoke. The next day there was remarkable thunder & lightening. My sister this month went to the Gloucester Circular meeting, returning on the 24th.

27th. Spent the evening at Thomas Rutter's with John Roper of Norwich, who preached on the subject of our late accident. In the course of what he delivered, he repeated the following words, "and he added unto his days fifteen years."

October. Early in this month we went to town to see William Cookworthy who lodged at our agreeable cousin M. Beck's. She continued to live in King's Square, acting consistently as a widow & universally esteemed & respected as a religious, sensible woman of great benevolence to the poor. She had often with her, as a visitor, one of W^m Cookworthy's daughters, mostly Lydia. W. Cookworthy staid in town till the 16th of October, & my sister spent much of her time with him in King's Square, where I often visited. But at the time of their intending to leave Bristol, she was confined at home for a day or two being poorly, when Lydia C. came over to Henbury & informed us that an unexpected and, they feared, painful engagement, called them suddenly home the next morning. On hearing this we both accompanied her to town & spent the evening with them at M. Beck's. In the course of this evening I perceived by a certain look, squeeze together of the hand &c of W. Cookworthy's whenever P. D. Tuckett addressed my sister, that a connection was foreseen & approved of by him, which, I afterwards learned, he expressed at the time to P.D.T. aside.^m

The following evening (17th) after spending it at J. Fry's, went to my aunt Rogers' to sleep, in very violent thunder & lightening. One flash was so

^m Two letters from W. Cookworthy, one to P.D.T. dated Plymouth 1773, and the other to E. Champion dated 6th of 2nd mo. 1774, on the occasion of their approaching marriage, printed in "Relics of Wm Cookworthy" by John Prideaux. London Whittaker and Co 1853.

strong as much to injure a house at the corner of Marchant Street [sic] & Rosemary Lane.

30th. I was all the morning busy with my sister Champion in the Old Market, which house my brother sold, or was about to sell, not choosing to keep two such houses, & this winter we were at lodgings in Castle Green. This same day dined at J. Fry's with John Nancarrow from Cornwall, a man of a singular turn of mind – ingenious, sensible, liberal & benevolent in his own disposition, he set a less value on money than prudence required for his situation, which, though possibly the result of an amiable turn of mind, was lamented by his friends who wished to see him in easy circumstances. His means were now reduced very low from ill success in mining, & having thus become unable to gratify those inclinations to which his genius led, he was going to America with a hope of repairing his broken fortunes. He was a widower with one daughter whom he had left with her mother's relations in Cornwall. He was a most agreeable companion, had passed through a variety of scenes, & appeared to have reaped some benefit from the trials & vexations of life by their drawing him nearer to the subject & object, that above all merits our attention. His character was, in short, truly original. After our return to town, he & P.D.T. were our constant visitors, & he gave us some lessons on the globes.

November 1st. We all dined at W. Buller's from whence all but my sister went to Hannah More's to hear their pupils repeat the "Search after Happiness" written by herself. We staid supper, after which, in our way to Henbury, we called in Stokes Croft at the widow Berry's for my sister.

22nd. Set out for London with my brother & sister Champion & Mark & S. Harford. We found my father waiting to receive us at lodgings in Norfolk Street which he had taken for us.

25th. Went to Westminster abbey.

26th. From Grace St. Meeting, I dined with M. Arch, whom I had left some years before a very pretty young woman, & who was still pleasing & quite as agreeable. We were at the Foundling Hospital, Adelphi Buildings, & saw Ranelagh³⁷ & the Pavillion, but not at the public times. I called on Lydia Wheeler & dined with E. Bevington. One afternoon, we went to the Magdalen Chapel, where Dr. Dodd, whom I had heard at its first institution, preached very pathetically – his manner natural & easy. This, I think, was the only day my spirits were good whilst in London. But London I never liked – at least I thought so – but I believe, be the place what it will, the impressions retained of it take their colour from the manner in which we have passed our time in it whether pleasing or otherwise.

29th. Went to see the capital paintings in London.

30th. I received a letter from my sister upon a subject of so much importance to herself as greatly & agreeably to engage my attention, P. D. Tuckett having now imparted to her those wishes which his conduct, before we left home, gave us reason to suspect. Her happiness in the matrimonial connection was the first earthly object of my hopes & I flattered myself the present candidate for her affections was of a disposition truly desirable – steady in his religious duties, & in the possession of more simplicity of mind than is usually to be met with in one so conversant in life. To all these advantages were added a good understanding & a person uncommonly pleasing. He was a stranger at Bristol, & his nearest connections wholly unknown to us, but having been apprenticed to a son-in-law of W^m Cookworthy's at Plymouth, & much valued by his friend there, was a great recommendation.

Whilst I was in London, I visited at John Fry's & at Sam^l Bevington's, where I met with Sophia Hume. Sensible & exemplary as she was, many were, with myself, of opinion that her usefulness would have been greater had her charity been more extensive.

December 2nd. To the park with George Wheeler to see the King & Queen. Afterwards we saw the Prince of Wales & the Bishop of Osnaburg get out of their coach.

3rd. Breakfasted at W^m Arch's with John Nancarrow, who took me to see a little curious watch.

8th. My father called to inform us of my youngest brother's arrival the evening before.ⁿ After tea we went with my father to see him at his lodgings. We found him but little altered in his face after an absence (to us) of 7 years, a small part of which he had been out of England, & was now sent for home in order to embark in a few days for Bencoolen in the E. Indies. We found his mother was in the house with him, but had withdrawn on our entrance, my father being with us, from whom she had been separated for a considerable time. After a very affecting scene between this young man & his father, he prevailed on him to see his mother to whom he led him in an adjoining chamber; & leading them both back to the company, gracefully sat down between them joining their hands. Previous to all this we went to the room where she was & found her in tears & grateful for our attentions.

9th. Walked into the city with my sister Champion, & was met by my brother at W^m Arch's. We then went to dine with my brother Joe, contriving to be by ourselves. It was our parting interview & we dined & drank tea together. The next morning, once more with pleasure, I quitted London. We called at Taplow for M. & S. Harford as agreed, they going there some days before,

ⁿ Joseph Champion Jun., her half-brother. {J.F.}

but being prevailed on to stay there longer, we proceeded on our journey, & got to Bristol the next day for dinner. P. D. Tuckett spent the evening with us for the first time in the character of my sister's lover; for after his declaration of his sentiments, she would not admit him till the family's return. From this time he continued his visits with us to my aunt Rogers', S. Farley's, Dr. Ludlow's &c.

1774

1774 January. In this month Hannah More & her sisters spent an evening with us & W^m Buller. I found occasion in the course of this visit to admire the candour & good sense of H. More, likewise, I thought her sister Patty very lively & agreeable.

April 11th. We spent the day at S. Farley's with W^m Cookworthy [who came to Bristol on the 1st]. J. Peach Sen. came to tea – a man of professed free principles. He took much pains to draw-out W^m Cookworthy in conversation on subjects, which as his mind seemed only in a situation to ridicule, the other discovered & was mostly silent. After J.P. had withdrawn, W.C. made some excellent observations on such dispositions. Indeed it was ever his distinguishing characteristic, to extract from every subject, in a manner peculiarly engaging, the valuable part. The remainder of the month was mostly spent, in the evening, visiting with him, & sometimes in receiving him with our constant attendant P. D. Tuckett.

May. The Yearly Meeting, at which W^m Cookworthy was often excellently engaged, but, for want of speaking loud enough, much of it was lost. We staid till the end of the Yearly Meeting in Castle Green, & still went about to our friends with him, as to T. Rutter's, M. Beck's &c. On the 4th he went over to Henbury with us, where my brother & sister had been some little time before; & the next morning we all attended Lawrence Weston meeting, Lydia Cookworthy & P.D.T. coming over to go with us there.

7th. We set out for Cheltenham, where my sister having been again a little poorly was advised to go. P.D.T. went with us there, & we took our little favourite Hetty Champion, who was about 4 years old, a sweet engaging little child, all sensibility, & very pretty. P.D.T. spent 2 or 3 days comfortably with us, & then left us. Here we enjoyed a quietness which was at this time peculiarly pleasing. The season being not yet commenced, left us in possession of more retirement than Cheltenham usually affords, & this was particularly acceptable, as we had met with much hurry before leaving Bristol & some perplexing circumstances which had the effect of retarding the conclusion of the marriage between my sister & P.D.T. During this stay at Cheltenham we kept as little company as possible, & contracted but few

new acquaintances; except with the clergyman of the place, a very pleasing young man who had lately come there, & who had lodgings opposite to us.

We continued at Cheltenham till the 15th of July, when P.D.T. met us three miles short of Gloucester in our way home. He gave us an affecting relation of the sudden illness & death of our friend S. Farley of Tinmouth, to which place she went in company with Lydia Cookworthy & M. Beck. As they were sitting one evening conversing, I think, after supper, she was in an instant seized with a violent headache & sickness, & survived only a few hours. From our late intimacy with her, this event the more painfully engaged our attention. She had been to us a near & very kind neighbour, & her benevolence & universal acquaintance rendered her removal a great loss & generally regretted. Men of distinguished abilities, of all ranks & descriptions, resorted to her house & were fond of her conversation. She succeeded her father or her uncle in the printing business, & it was not by education, but by superior talents that she emerged from obscurity. The poor bewailed her death as the loss of a benefactor. She was a single woman, but was at this time earnestly solicited to become a wife by her neighbour W^m Green, whose entreaties had hitherto been unavailing.

We got to Henbury the same evening. The next day we dined in the field at the hay-making at Stoke, with our family, W^m Buller, John Lloyd &c. From thence we walked to town & lodged at my aunt Rogers', where we staid till the 18th (July) when P.D. Tuckett & my sister E. Champion made their appearance a{t} the men's meeting accompanied by my aunt Rogers & my brother, to declare their intentions of marriage. In the evening W^m Fry, Thos. Rutter, & Thos. Frank came deputed by the meeting to converse with my sister on the subject of settlement, she having declined accepting any, from her idea, not only of their general impropriety, but from a scruple she had in her own mind against them, & her father refusing his consent on any other terms, was the cause of this deputation. At this visit my aunt Rogers & myself were present, but wholly silent. The design of the meeting was not to recommend it as a step necessary or otherwise, only in one point of view as the request of a parent. Much passed on the subject, & my sister, I think, well defended her cause, which was given up by the visitors. But had the general conduct of the parent given cause to suppose it was solely the welfare of his child he had in view, it would perhaps have altered the case. Neither did the fortune come from him.

The next day we went to Henbury, & two days after walked to breakfast at the Wells with Betsy Berry Fox, & Emma Berry – a sister of Fidy's very good natured & agreeable who lived with her aunt Fox at Plymouth.

August 1st. We dined at the Irongates, whence P.D.T. & E.C. again, with the same company attended the men's meeting, where they met with some detention from the before mentioned circumstances; but it soon past. After

tea I went with my sister into York Street to a pretty neat house taken & furnished for her reception the next evening.

2nd. Philip Debel Tuckett & my sister Esther Champion made their publick appearance at Friar's Meeting, where, before a very numerous audience, they were united in marriage. Eight couples went into meeting in the following order:-

1st

My aunt Rogers and my brother Richard Champion

2nd

Thomas Rutter & my aunt Champion

3rd

The Bride and Bridegroom

4th

Mark Harford & S. Champion

5th

J. Lloyd Champion & Eliza Champion (both children)

6th

Nehemiah Champion and M. Lloyd

7th

Robert Rogers and Lydia Cookworthy

8th

Sam^l Andrew Lloyd & Fidelity Berry.

To these several were added at dinner, who also, by invitation, attended the meeting; but the warmth of the weather & the crowd about the table, much broke in on my comfort on the occasion, to me so interesting & pleasing. Old John Richard & T. Rutter preached, after which the latter was engaged in supplication for those this day united in marriage. We dined at Almondsbury where the company was too large & too mixed for enjoyment. After tea we returned to town & drove immediately to York Street, where we spent a very comfortable evening; the company consisting of T. & R. Rutter, my aunt Rogers & M. Lloyd. The latter staid with me. I spent the following fortnight with my brother & sister Tuckett.

September. About this time Betsy Fox of Plymouth came to pay my brother & sister J. a visit. It is very extraordinary that in the course of four years' acquaintance, I should not before have said anything of a character so

distinguished – solid in her judgement, warm in her attachments – a wit tempered by prudence; & in the use of a very superior understanding, she was guided by that religion she had early made her choice, & which with steadiness she seemed to have always in view. By some she was more esteemed than beloved, from an idea, improperly formed, of the severity of her virtue, judging perhaps from a reserve in her manner & the rectitude of her own conduct. But though she never flattered, she well knew how to make allowance for the frailty of human nature. Yet notwithstanding we enjoyed an intimate friendship, our dispositions, or rather more properly speaking, complexions were totally different; caution & prudence being leading features in her character, openness & credulity, if I know myself, in mine.

In this month Jonathan Binns of Looe,³⁸ paid a visit of some days in York Street – a very agreeable man, of an enlarged mind, & a very acceptable minister.

October 8th. Edmond Burke declared candidate for Bristol in the room of Lord Clare, & on the 13th he arrived. One evening, on my coming home from meeting, I found W. Buller waiting in a carriage to fetch me to spend the evening at Joe Smith's with Edmond Burke³⁹ & Richard Burke. My brother & sister [Champion] were also there. I was much pleased with the conversation of both brothers, but particularly so with Edmund's begging the active leaders of the party would be guilty of no meanness to carry their point, & to be careful of their expenses, he being unable to bear any part of it with prudence. He added, "I had rather lose the election with honour, than gain it by one dirty act." At another time on being assured there was the greatest probability of success, he observed, "How unpleasant are those attainments gained at the expense of another's disappointment." On the 3rd of November the election ended in his favour by 275 majority above Matthew Brickdale. They were chaired the same day when I saw them from Joe Smith's.⁴⁰

Nov 11th. Spent the evening at Thos. Farr's at Blaze Castle⁴¹ with Edm^d Burke &c who slept at our house but went away after breakfast the next morning.

The latter end of this month we left Henbury & came to Castle Green for the winter.

1775

February 1775 14th. Dined with Israel Morris of America & other company in York Street. He appeared to be a sensible man, but spoke of his country with a warmth that seemed to have a mixture of temper.

May 29th. Set out with my brother & sister Tuckett on a journey to the West. We got to Glastonbury that evening, where at Joseph Pike's we staid a day or two, & then proceeded to Exeter.

June 3rd. Breakfasted at Elias Tuckett's near Newton Basset. E.T. was an uncle to my brother T.

At Ivy Bridge we were met by our friends J. & M. Fox & Betsy. I lodged at the house of the former who had now living four daughters, one very young. My brother & sister went to their uncle Cookworthy's, Philip, brother of W.C., both, with their families, living under the same roof divided & being connected in business.⁴² Philip's wife, Rachael Cookworthy, a worthy woman, was my brother J's aunt.⁴³ They had one son & a daughter, the latter married to George Prideaux^o ⁴⁴ of Kingsbridge, a lawyer & an agreeable man.

12th. We set out for Looe by land & arrived there the following evening. It is romantically situated, and, tho' only a few houses, sends up 4 members to Parliament!, being composed of two boroughs separated by a bridge. We were much pleased with my brother T's grandmother, who was a pretty, little, cheerful woman.^p She received us with great kindness & seemed much pleased with an opportunity of seeing the wife of a grandson whom she tenderly loved – who, with his sister had lost their mother when infants – an endearing situation, which I had myself experienced. Their father had been since married & left many children by his second wife.

This old gentlewoman, seemed to possess great benevolence & was favoured with a contented mind. She told us she could not say with Job that her days were "few & evil," for they had been long & happy; yet as age & infirmities increased, she felt an increasing desire to be released. At Looe we met with George C. Fox of Falmouth, a very agreeable young man. I lodged whilst at Looe at Jonathan Bawden's, a good tempered man that had married my brother T's sister. They had two children, a boy about 5 or 6 & a girl about six weeks.

For some time after our return to Plymouth, where we lodged at James Fox's, my sister was very poorly; but after she got better we visited our friends, & enjoyed the conversation of W^m Cookworthy, at whose house

^o This person was grandfather to Dr. Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. Richard Gordon of America was brought to his house on landing in England after his captivity in France. This house is photographed in his granddaughter S.P. Fox's recollections of Kingsbridge. Lieutenant Prideaux of Magdalen notoriety {!} is his great grandson, son of Francis William son of his son William. {This is not in Frank's hand and seems to be of a later date.}

^p 80 years of age. Much of a native gentlewoman. {Hand as the note above.}

evening meetings were held on first days. On that previous to our departure, he was affectingly engaged for our preservation & support under afflicting scenes through which he had a sense of our having to pass. This might be said to be “as bread cast upon the waters, found after many days.”

July 10th. We left Plymouth accompanied by several of our friends as far as Fleet, & ancient house of W^m C.'s where we dined, after which a part of the company returned home, the rest going with us to George Prideaux's at Kingsbridge. We spent the next First day at Collumpton & attended their meetings; Joel Cadbury with us. We reached Bristol on the 19th.

September. At the opening of Lady Huntingdon's⁴⁵ chapel with my brother Tuckett.

30th. My [half] brother Joe Champion came very unexpectedly from Bencoolen in the E. Indies. Want of health in a bad climate was the occasion of his return. He staid only a few days in Bristol. This young man, by having no refuge in the parental dwelling, no example to imitate, was exposed to temptations more than most; & by this means led into vices to which his nature seemed averse, being amiable & affectionate in his dispositions. In York Street two days with my sister in the absence of her husband who was gone to Gloucester. M. Wright,⁴⁶ who had lately much visited there, at dinner.

1776

Jan^y 1776. At the Quarterly Meeting in the afternoon. Drank tea & spent the evening with my brother & sister T, my aunt C., M. Beck, Dr. Dimsdale, M. Hopson, Sukey Cookworthy &c at M. Wright's lodgings. Dr. Dimsdale one of the younger sons of Baron Dimsdale, had found out the secret of engaging the affections of an agreeable young widow; my cousin Beck, whose friends at Bristol were too unwilling to part with her to be pleased with the prospect of it. T. Dimsdale was genteel in his person, but so silent & reserved that it was impossible, by being in his company, except from skill in phisiognomy, to form a just idea of him.

7th. A remarkably deep snow which continued on the ground till the 1st of February when there was a general thaw. On this day (7th Jan^y) I drank tea & spent the evening in York Street with a large company, of which number was John Till Adams, a young apothecary lately come into considerable practice in Bristol, whence he had gone some years before to America with Bill Logan, & after his death returned with his widow to England. He had a good understanding & much medical knowledge & was now candidate for the affections of Nancy Fry youngest daughter to W^m Fry.

14th. The snow was so deep as to prevent arrival of the London post.

February 1st. On this day the thaw began, & I walked, in a slippery path from home to my brother Tuckett's in York Street (as soon as I had breakfasted with J. Peach from Gloucestershire). My brother & sister Champion, T. Rutter, M. Lloyd, & M. Wright spent the day with me there. At tea G. & Sukey Champion were added to the company. This day which I passed very agreeably, I was 34 years of age – a time in the opinion of those who were much my juniors, to bid adieu to the season of youth. But so great is the difference of our ideas at the different stages of life, in taking a view of those further advanced in age than ourselves, that there can be no standard by which to judge.

April 20th. Assisted my sister [Tuckett] in moving into Union Street into a house my brother had purchased with a view to business.

May 1st. The new market opened in Union Street. We went to Henbury for the summer, in a few days I came to town to see M. Fox who was at her mother's in Horfield Lane. Received a letter from Jabez Fisher who accompanied our friends Catherine P. & Lydia Hawksworth to Ireland, announcing their safe arrival there.

5th. Our Yearly Meeting, during which I was in town, & attended all the meetings, spending the month at my bro. T's. A minister of the name of A. Drury, John Till Adams, M. Wright, & Sally P., whose spirits were at this time very fluctuating. She was a lively, sensible girl, who had shown dispositions, as to religion, very different from the rest of the family, & was considered a religious young woman & a consistent quaker. She had an affectionate temper, easily wrought upon, which with company she could not avoid at home, seemed to be the occasion of the first stop she took into the world. She could stand persecution from a father, but his tenderness she was not proof against. At this time her inclination & judgement seemed at variance. What have not parents to answer for who not only neglect "To train up their children in the nurture & fear of the Lord," but who make use of every effort to draw them from a religious walk in life.

6th. On this day was removed, after a lingering, painful illness, which he bore with much patience & resignation, our friend W^m Fry, - his disorder a cancer in the cheek.

7th. On returning home on a double horse, I was thrown from behind the servant, but not materially hurt. Had a visit next day on the occasion from my aunt Rogers who happened to be at Stoke, & S. Harford; also M. Lloyd & M. Wright whose horse it was.

18th. Went early to my brother T's & with him, my sister, Sally P. & Stephens attended Clave{r}ham meeting, where S.P. had a fit.

22nd. I went to Bristol in order to accompany my brother & sister J. to the London Yearly Meeting; besides which he was going to take his [half] sister Sally to school at Godalming. The following is a journal of this excursion written by my sister, which greatly preferring to my own, I insert it.

Esther Tuckett's journal of a London Journey in 1776.

May 22nd. After an agreeable ride to Bath we spent the evening at C. Banhock's {Hancock's?} lodgings, a sensible, interesting elderly gentlewoman whose manner & conversation have been greatly improved by her having experienced a great vicissitude of fortune. We met my sister, Sally Tuckett, at Bath & with the addition of her company set out the next morning from the Christopher, & the following day arrived in London, after a pleasant & safe journey. We lodged at a silversmith's in Gracious Street, & the next morning attended, a crowded meeting in GC. St. where our friends George Boen {Bawm}, & Samuel Neale were zealously engaged, & the meeting was concluded by a short pathetic prayer by Mary Brooke.^{q 47} After dining at James Philip's, with Joseph King & M. Wright, we again went to Grace Church Street where our friends I. Sharpless preached & T. Rutter prayed. We drank tea & spent the evening at Richard Chesters (a worthy good tempered man & his wife a valuable sensible woman) with Isaac Wilson, W^m Dibworth & wife & several others. One of the friends there gave the following affecting account of David Barclay's behaviour when he heard of the death of his daughter Agatha Gurney. In his journey to see her, accompanied by Dr. Fothergill, & before their arrival, the awful event was permitted. The father sustained the shock with the fortitude of the Christian. With calmness he requested to be taken to the remains of his beloved his only child. With her husband he visited the lifeless corpse, and, contemplating it for some moments, turned from the affecting sight, looked at his son & said it was the last time they should ever behold her, but added, "It was best it should be so." From the father's noble example, the husband derived fortitude. Two pledges of their affection remained – the youngest, a daughter not a month old – an affecting instance of the uncertainty of all earthly dependence. But Providence is all sufficient, in His wisdom he gives & takes away. Blessed be his holy name.^r

^q Mary Brook was eminent in the ministry, of an exemplary life – had a penetrating eye, but said little in company. [Note in the journal.]

^r [David Barklay was a grandson of Robert Barclay the Apologist. Agatha Gurney was his only child by his first wife, her husband was Richard Gurney of Norwich. She left two children; the elder was the last well known Hudson Gurney, and the younger the daughter mentioned above; (and further on) who was named Agatha after her lamented mother. The "character" of the latter, taken it is believed from "The Monthly Ledger" is given in E. Tuckett's account, but it is not thought necessary to transcribe it. J.F.]

2nd day afternoon. At the Women's meeting at 3 o'clock. The epistles read from America & Wales by Hannah Waring, M. Brook & several others preached. We drank tea & spent the evening at John Elliott's with a large company – Sam^l Neale of the number. Next morning at Devonshire House Meeting, where several friends preached, with whose names we were unacquainted. After dining at E. Whiting's we went to Horsley Down Meeting where several Testimonies were delivered – one by Mary Brook whose language doctrine & manner were excellent & persuasive. E. Bevington closed the meeting in solemn supplication. We drank tea & spent the evening at John Fry's. The next morning I was confined to the house, but dined at T. Wright's & went afterwards to the Savoy meeting. 4th day at a Women's Meeting that held 4 hours, at Devonshire House. The two epistles from America again read & their answers drawn up by Mary Brook & E. Bevington; the answer to Wales by D. Townsend & H. Waring. Eleven Testimonies were read – mostly by E. Bevington. The meeting opened by Ruth Fellows in a solemn prayer. Several others preached. We dined at Thomas Smith's with near 40 friends. Drank tea at Sam^l Bevington's, & afterwards went with her to the Park Meeting where M. Brook stood up & enlarged on the text, "Is this he that is to come, or look we for another." She afterwards prayed.

5th day at Devonshire House Meeting in the morning where M. Brook & T. Spaval preached. Dined at M. Chorley's where were M. Brook & T. Rutter. Afterwards went to see Westminster Abbey. Drank tea & spent the evening at James Freeman's.^s Sam^l Spaval, Eman^l Elam⁴⁸ & others there.

7th day. My sister & myself spent the day at Clapton at John Harman's with the amiable owners of a large family of fine children. Sam Galton Jun^{r49} accompanied us there & back to London. 1st day morning we were at Devonshire House, where our friend T. Rutter was excellently engaged in Testimony & afterwards M. Brook in supplication. We dined at Ja^s Freeman's & went to G. C. Street meeting in the afternoon, where Edmund Gurney was zealously engaged for a long time in a remarkable manner. "Having begun in the spirit, think you to be made perfect in the flesh," was, I think, what his testimony was founded upon. S. Spaval also preached & Edm^d Gurney prayed with that energy, humility & excellency which ever distinguished him as a Minister of the Gospel, with which his life, conduct & conversation were consistent. Blessed with ease & affluence, he remembers the great Giver, & adorns the doctrine of God his Saviour in all things.

3rd day we went to the review at Blackheath, where the king was present. We went from thence to dine at Ben^{jm} Collier's at Debtford, where we said to

^s James F was the son of Francis Freeman, a worthy man and an eminent Apothecary in Bristol who died July 16th 1752 – Note in M.S. journal.

lodge & were treated with great hospitality & kindness by a very agreeable family, consisting of a husband, wife & one daughter.

5th day. S. Tuckett was taken by her brother (P.D.T.) to Godalming & the same morning S.C. & myself went to G.C. Street mtg. where several Friends preached & S. Neale prayed. We dined at John Fry's & spent most of the rest of the day in calling on our friends. We drank tea at Nelly Marshall's with a brother of West⁵⁰ the celebrated painter. The day following we went to Dr. Fothergill's at 8 o'clock, & from thence breakfasted at Dr. Dimsdale's. Our cousin M.D. went with us afterwards to see West's paintings. We saw several capital pieces; among the rest General Wolfe dying of his wounds & Lady Ashley with a beautiful child - her little arms round her neck. From hence we went to see M. Wrights wax work which nothing but real life can exceed. Her father & mother are sitting in the dress of plain quakers, her knitting lying on her lap, whilst he appears to be attentively perusing Penn's "No cross, no crown." At 9 next morning we left London in the Oxford coach, dined at Maidenhead, drank tea at Benson & lodged at Oxford at the Bear. The next morning we were employed in seeing Dr. Redcliffe's library, the public theatre & Christ Church College, in the latter was a fine collection of paintings belonging to Gen^l Guise. We drank tea at Woodstock, & from thence went forward in a chaise to Bibsey {Bibury}, where we lodged at an inn situated quite in the country, very neat, & where we were very civilly treated. Next morning after breakfast we set out forward with an intention of attending the meeting at Cirencester, but strongly impelled by the attractive voice of friendship, we concluded to change our purpose & visit our very valuable friends J. & M. Dallaway. At their house we dined & drank tea, & found great difficulty is resisting their solicitations to prolong our stay with them. This worthy couple [had been] greatly weaned from this world & its common friendships by a series of afflictive dispensations, under all which, as knowing they came not from the dust, they were preserved in humble & grateful resignation. We lodged at Tetbury, saw Badminton House, where are some good paintings, dined at Sodbury, drank tea at Downend & arrived home about 7 o'clock, where I have taken a pleasing retrospection of our little excursion, desiring that the profitable part, not less than the pleasing, may be lastingly remembered by us, & from each a grateful heart to the great Giver of every spiritual as well as temporal blessing should more & more become our daily desire to possess so as to influence our whole lives & conversations.

E. Tuckett.

Augt 22nd ^t Edm^d Burke came to tea & staid till after breakfast next morning. 20th. Called after meeting to enquire after Dr. Ludlow who was very ill. Found Harriett in great affliction on the occasion.

September. To Temple Street from Henbury. In the afternoon called again at Dr. L's whom I found on the recovery. Returned home to tea. Sam. Lloyd brought Joe Netford, an agreeable young surgeon, home with him in the evening, who staid to lodge.

12th. Rode to town; lodged at my bro. Tuckett's house, & the next morning set out with Fidy Berry, whom I had invited to go with me, to meet my bro. & sister Tuckett in their way from the West. We lodged at an inn at Wellington, & the next day they, with Betsy Fox, arrived there. With them I returned to Bridgewater leaving Fidy at Taunton. As it was a Circular Meeting at B. Water, we attended, we did not find beds at the inn, but lodged at a brother's of J. Codrington, & were by day with the company at the principal inn. A large booth was erected for the convenience of holding the meetings, in which two were held the 1st day. We here met many of our acquaintance & passed the time very agreeably. A higher description of enjoyment at a Circular Meeting has seldom been experienced by me. Though I believe their usefulness has been great in spreading our principles amongst others, without any injury to ourselves, to some perhaps of these, they may have been advantageous, particularly for those who are situated where there is not outward ministry. Edm^d Gurney, Catherine Philips, John Storah, Thomas Rutter &c, were at times eminently favoured rightly to divide the word.^u Betsy Fox went on with us to Bristol, For want of a chaise to proceed, we were obliged to lodge at Cross, but the next day we arrived safely at my brother Tuckett's.

At the latter end of the month, W. Hopton came, in consequence of an engagement I had made to visit my friends J. & M. Dallaway, in Gloucestershire, where I went with him in two or three days. But previous to this, on the 27th, in the course of a weekday meeting, & at that time very unexpectedly to me (though a thing I had long seen as a distant view) my sister Tuckett stood up, and, with much calmness & solemnity, delivered these words, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven." It was an interesting affecting period! As such I felt it. Leaving her at this season, though with a kind husband, & a sympathizing friend in E. Fox, was a great trial to me, but not with propriety to be avoided, as our

^t This date appears incorrect, as the 20th follows it in the M.S. possibly it was the 12th. - J.F.

^u An interesting account of this same Circular Meeting is given in a letter from a lady not a member of our Society, written just after it was held. The letter was printed in the Friend for 12mo 1861 (pp 306-7). [J.F.]

going was fixed for the next day. After meeting, my aunt Rogers happening not to be there, I went to her house & had some private conversation with her on the subject, for she was on all occasions our sympathizing friend & able councillor. She was much pleased with my report & expressed her wishes that good work might come forward.

The next morning W.H. & I set out in a chaise. I staid a few days & enjoyed the society of the Dallaways & on the 3rd of October, we returned altogether to Chalford where W.H. had a very pretty house; with an adjoining wood where he displayed some taste. The next morning I left Chalford & rode 15 miles double, the longest ride I have ever taken on horseback. At Cross Hands I was met in a chaise by my sister & Betsy Fox, my brother T. on horseback. After we had dined & I had sent a few grateful lines to M. Dallaway, we went on to Bristol & the next day I went home to Henbury. Isaac Sharples was in Bristol this month.

Nov. A few days confined to my brother T's from being very poorly. When a little better we drank tea at [J.] Till Adams'. We were entertained very agreeably & being at this time under his medical care his attention was very pleasing. On our return we found Dr. Ludlow waiting for us. He showed us an admirable letter from his friend Barlow, whose sister some time ago had been under his care at the Wells, where she died. Next day went to Henbury, from whence in the following week we came to town for the winter. At a meeting from ten till two on acct. of some Friends deputed to visit meetings; R. Dudley, J. Corbyn, &c the persons.

December. This month I spent a few days at Stoke. Visited at Dr. Ludlow's, J. Fry's, T. Rutter's &c as well as weekly at my aunt Rogers's. More comfort experienced at the end of this year than some preceeding ones.

1777

January 7th. My sister Champion drank tea with me at my brother T's where was Robert Dudley from Ireland, whom we thought in conversation interesting & agreeable. The following day I breakfasted with him there.

9th. My brother Tuckett went to London. I staid with my sister in his absence. About this time for a week or two, the city was in a continual alarm on account of several attempts being supposed to be made to set it on fire. All was confusion & hurry. False alarms were frequently given, & we were called up from mere imaginary fears. In the midst of these disagreeable scenes my brother T. returned from London & I went with my sister to meet him at Bath, where we staid one night she being too poorly to return the same day.

28th. They removed to a house in Castle Green for the other house proving inconvenient, the plan on which it was entered upon being set aside. It was not eligible to stay in it. Castle Green being near to my winter residence made the change delightful to me.

Feb'y 18th. An express arrived from Evesham with an account that Charles Beaufoy was dangerously ill. Upon being applied to I readily consented to accompany my aunt Rogers there, & after lodging the preceeding night at her house, we set out in a considerable snow. A little beyond the turnpike we met another messenger confirming the first account, adding a request that I might accompany my aunt to Evesham. This was an increase of satisfaction to me, though the consideration of my being with my aunt at this time was so great that it far overbalanced every inconvenience. As we rode on she observed it was probable our friends were feeling for us on account of the severity of the weather; but, she added, she was not sensible of any inconvenience worth attending to, when she was satisfied she was in the way of her duty. We dined at Newport & lodged at Gloucester. The next morning at 4 o'clock we went forward in a deep snow, breakfasted at Caustown(?) & dined at Pershore. There I learnt that Charles Beaufoy had been dead two days. His seizure was paralytic & violent. As soon as she had dined, I informed my aunt of it. She received it with some emotion, as fearing it might too much affect her daughter's spirits on account of her having been so much troubled with nervous disorders. These fears, I convinced her, were groundless: for I have many times observed that those events which, in the common course, Providence permits to happen, however affecting, seldom either produce or increase that depression of spirits occasioned by such disorders. We arrived at Evesham about tea time & were received by the widow Nelson, whom I had formerly known at my uncle Champion's, & a very pretty woman, wife of T. Ramel who was an intimate friend of the deceased. She conducted us into the house, but was too much affected to speak. We were shown into a parlour where Betsy Bright, a very agreeable, obliging young woman, came to us & invited my aunt up stairs; soon after which I was sent for. S. Beaufoy was much as I expected & wished to see her. She presented to us her two little girls – the eldest two years, a very pretty agreeable child, the youngest weakly & about a year old. The funeral was the 26th, very large & the meeting house crowded on the occasion; but they first attended the corpse to the grave & saw it deposited there. S. Fell said a few words there, expressive of regard to the deceased. She also preached in the meeting & J. Burlingham. L. Fell previous to the funeral, had spent two or three days with us, & I was much pleased with her company. Thomas Ramel was our frequent visitor, & appeared to be a sensible, agreeable man. Whilst we were at Evesham an affecting event happened in the widow Nelson's family. Her daughter was at this time at her house lying in with her 5th child. Her husband, a clergyman & a very agreeable man had

been for some months in a poor state of health, but not ill enough to be confined, & had this day ridden out. As he was sitting drinking tea by his wife's bedside, he was suddenly seized with a violent pain in his head, to which he was subject, & uttering only one sentence, which was a desire to her mother to rub his forehead, instantly expired. For some time after this, the poor wife was in a state little short of distraction, but "time the pacifier of every woe" afforded her relief. Timothy Bevington of Worcester,⁵¹ a worthy Friend well known for his good sense & probity, came to see the widow Beaufoy, & had a little comfortable opportunity with us, of encouraging her to persue those "things which made for peace." We paid two visits, a little before our return to Bristol, one to Thomas Ramel, & another to a clergyman of S.B.'s acquaintance, where I experienced the truth of an observation which has often been made, that there is something more attractive in a pleasing manner joined to real worth, than in a mere pretty face. For at this house were two young women – one pretty, - the other disgustingly ordinary at first sight & yet so sensible, so engaging in conversation, that, before the end of the day, she not only ceased to be disagreeable, became really agreeable & greatly eclipsed her pretty friend. Once I went to a meeting at Pershore,⁵² Betsy Bright with me. T. Bevington preached, & I thought we had a good meeting.

March 17. We left Evesham & got home on the 18th after an unpleasant ride from very bad roads. My brother T. met us at Almondsbury.⁵³ Though I did not bring home with me a great stock of spirits. There are few things on which I reflect with so much satisfaction as my accompanying my aunt R. to Evesham on this occasion. In the course of the month I spent with her there, I had an opportunity of observing the minutiae of her conduct with more attention than I ever before have done in the many years I had been favoured with an intimate intercourse with her; because the circle in which she now moved was smaller, & I was her constant companion. Her attention to me was more than I could have expected. Every thing she said or did seemed to proceed from a desire of promoting the good of all with whom she conversed. In a few days after my return, I visited poor Ned – a little innocent negro boy about 12 years old, who was sent over to my brother, but with whom the climate not agreeing, he was boarded out. Soon after my return I went with my brother & sister T. to spend a day at Bath with George Croker Fox, his wife & some of the family. He appeared to be sensible, agreeable, & much of a gentleman, but his spirits depressed by disease. His wife seemed a good-tempered, generous woman. Some few years before they had two sons drowned in their passage to Holland, which had greatly affected them. They had left four sons & three daughters.

April 27. Our Yearly Meeting – no minister of eminence at it – my sister [T] too poorly to be at more than one meeting. At the latter end of the time we

had a large company to tea – Robert Dudley, Betsy Bush &c, the next day A. Goldney & H. Ford to tea.

May 29. My brother T. went to London, & the same day after dinner, I accompanied my sister T. [from Durdham down where she had lodgings for her health] to Bristol, staying at my aunt Rogers's whilst she attended a select meeting appointed by E. Robinson. We drank tea at T. Frank's Kingsdown, after which we had a meeting, at which Thomas Whilly of Ireland preached very particularly on engagements in business, concluding with these words "Remember that the same Power that can bless can also blast."

June 11th. My brother T. came home & brought with him his sister Sally who lodged in Castle Green & was our frequent visitor, with Charlotte Fox a sweet tempered, pleasing girl, youngest daughter of G.C. Fox of Falmouth. Whilst we were here Harry Gandy & his wife drank tea with us. Harry Gandy in the course of the foregoing year had arrived from the West Indies, where & at sea his life had been mostly spent, though a native of England. I know not how long he had joined our society, in which he was much esteemed, & appeared both in conduct & externals a consistent member – a very agreeable & sensible man, warm & affectionate in his attachments, but quick in temper, hasty in determination, & lively in his imagination. His whole manner & countenance expressed that candour & honesty, which, I believe, existed in his mind. His wife was a little, neat, formal woman that had much the appearance usually annexed to the figure of an old maid, but seemed friendly & obliging. They brought with them to England a little tawny or black boy of whom they seemed very fond. They had no child.

...In this month returned from a visit to Ireland, our Friend T. Rutter.

22nd. My aunt Rogers being called out of meeting, I followed her & learnt that Love Harford "whose sufferings were as hidden as her worth," was released the preceeding night of Frenchay. Her son was at this time ill at Stoke, & greatly affected on the occasion. In this month Jonah Thompson was in Bristol, & appeared to have something of the old man about him.

July 4th. At the funeral of Robert Peters, a worthy man much esteemed by many.

9th. At the marriage, by invitation of Robert Dudley & Mary Stokes at Frenchay. T. Rutter preached excellently, & the young people present were much affected. We drove directly to the Montague at Kingsdown, where we dined, drank tea, & spent the evening in a very large company; after which we went over the down to lodge. In about 10 days we invited the bride folks to Castle Green where they spent the day at my brother Tuckett's with a part of their family; among whom was a young woman a niece of M. Dudley's who appeared of a disposition peculiarly pleasing & inclined to be

serious; another, a very lively girl, Betsy Acton. Fidy Berry was also of the company.

23rd. Walked to Clifton with John Warder, lately from America, to meet the Travels of Cheltenham, to have them shown the Grotto.⁵⁴

25th. My brother & sister T. quitted their lodgings on the Down.

August 4th. I went to spend a little time with my sister at Hook's Mills, where we had a pretty little parlour &c all in miniature. It was within a pretty walk to town & to meeting; & my sister being much better than in the spring was able to enjoy it, & go often to Castle Green.

19th. I returned to Henbury in order to stay with the children in my brother C.'s absence, as they were going to pay their friend Edmond Burke a visit at Beaconsfield.

26th In a large company at my brother T's, C. Philips & T. Rutter of the number. After tea we had a meeting at which both preached. T.R. said that there was present a state which had deviated from the path of duty printed out in early youth, & that such deviation, had been, he feared, injurious to those among whom their lot was cast. But though the subject sank deep in my mind, the particulars are much erased from my memory; yet I am not easy to omit saying that much of it seemed so adapted to my own feelings, that I returned home under a deep sense of it. I trust it has ever since, in some measure, influenced my conduct, & seeing as life advances, how little anything short of these [spritual] enjoyments can satisfy an immortal nature, I find all else "labour & sorrow."

September. In the first week we went to Lawrence Weston meeting to meet Mabel Wigham, a good minister & a woman of very affable, pleasing disposition – qualities which were impressed on her countenance. After meeting she, with L. Hawksworth, Ruth Rutter, Sally Young, &c dined with my brother & sister T. & myself. In a few days dined with M.W. &c. in Castle Green, after which my bro. & sister T. went with me to Henbury. He had engaged to go early the next morning to Tewkesbury with M. Wigham & my sister was to stay with me; but she felt so strong in inclination to accompany them that it was determined she should go, which she accordingly did at 5 o'clock in the morning. On the evening of the next day, M. Lloyd came over to Henbury to supply my place in order to enable me to fulfil an engagement I had made with L. Hawksworth to go with her to a Circular Meeting at Bewdley in Worcestershire. In the morn^g of the 12th met L.H. &c. & at Newport had the pleasure of meeting P.D.T. & E.. on their way home from Tewkesbury. We got to Bewdley by the next morning, but some time before this I had let in an idea that I should have been more in my place had I staid quietly at home with my little family. This remained with me the whole time, & occasionally, embittered my enjoyments. Indeed, I

believe, just as my mind was at this time afflicted, it would have been best for me to be still, especially as large companies & bustle have ever had a tendency with me to dissipation. The only traces of this excursion which I wish to preserve, is the having formed an agreeable acquaintance with Kitty Young of Leominster. Sentimental, sensible, delicate & refined she cannot fail to please. Yet was there on a first introduction, a dignity of manner, often mistaken for distance & reserve. As beds were scarce, we shared one between us at a gentleman's house, where also lodged L.H., & W^m & Catherine Philips. After dinner, at the close of the last meeting, we set out, the same company with whom I had left Bristol, for Stourbridge, & the next day attended a meeting there at which preached J. Sharpless Jun., & L. Hawsworth. Mabel W. was singularly engaged in supplication, in the course of which she desired, if there were any present who wished for a companion for life, they might be enabled to choose aright. After dining at Joseph Morris's we took a long walk to see the canal. John Waring, with some others, T. Crawley & Jabez Fisher I think of the number, had appointed to meet us at this place, in order to show me Hagley in our way to Worcester; but he came not, which was a considerable disappointment to me. From Stourbridge we went to Worcester, & after dining at the inn, accepted an invitation to Timothy Bevington's to lodge, where were W. & C. Philips & Betsy Bevington with whom I was much pleased to meet. The next morning with W. & C.P. & their nephew Sil Bevan, a sensible young man, we set forward for Bristol, where we arrived next day to dinner, & where at my brother T's, I found W^m Cookworthy, Lydia, Sukey, & W. Hopton. I staid to meeting the next day, & on 2nd day met my brother & sister C. (who came home in my absence) & W. Hopton at Stoke. With the former, I returned to Bristol, and, with the family & their guests, visited at M. Wright's (who had been some time married to Polly Fox{?}) at Stephen Penny's, my aunt Champion's at Downend, J. Fry's, Henbury &c., & T. Rutter's where I first saw John Helton.^v He had lately quitted the Methodist society, where he had been an eminent minister, & now constantly attended our meetings.⁵⁵

He had the address, though not the dress of a quaker – in his person tall, well made – in a manner agreeable, much of a gentleman & very sensible. He was

^v J.H. had been a preacher among the Methodists for 13 years. His decision to leave them seem to have been come to at the Conference held in Bristol in 1777. Some of his brethren endeavoured to dissuade him from doing so, "but John Wesley seeing he could do no good by remaining and the Conference could do him no good, gently said "Let him go in peace." Anecdotes of the Wesley's p 247. J.H. published soon after his "Reasons for quitting the Methodist Society" (pp 66). The first edition of which is dated Melksham 3 mo 28-1778. He died, according to Jos^h Smith's catalogue, near Dublin in the 2nd mo 1817 aged 85 years. {J.F.}

a widower with two daughters, a native of Ireland. He spent one evening with us, (after our drinking tea at my aunt R.'s) during which we fell into silence. T. Rutter & W. Cookworthy preached. The next day they dined with us, as did L. Hawksworth, & between the afternoon & evening meetings, we had a tea visit from E. Dickenson & in the evening from George Bawn, {Bawn} whose simplicity & native humour much diverted W^m Cookworthy. The next morning M. Dimsdale, who was on a visit to her mother, called & was persuaded to spend the day with us at Thomas Frank's at Kingsdown, where was J. Helton.

October 1st. At the funeral of Richard Frampton. When we came home, our friend W^m Cookworthy seemed much disposed for retirement, & after a short silence, he delivered in a pathetic manner, an affecting testimony. In two-days after, our friends left us, & left us in a very stupid state from the uncommon exertions their company had occasioned; for we are not able to bear high pleasures for a long continuance. Besides, our valuable friend's W.C.'s faculties are most lively towards 12 o'clock at night, an hour when mine are usually overpowered with sleep. But his mind seemed animated in an uncommon manner. He was at this time in very good spirits, much pleased with a prospect of settling his youngest daughter, who was soon to be married to George Harrison of London – a man of very reputable character. In a few days I returned home drinking tea at Kingsweston in the way.

26th. My brother Tuckett, Thomas Frank & J. Waring went to London; a partnership between them had lately taken place in the mercantile business. The next day my sister T. & myself, had Sarah Sewel to tea, who preached much after tea to us & John Tuckett (who at this time lived with his brother). She seemed very affectionate & bore a very amiable character.

November. At the latter end of this month, Sally Young had a dreadful putrid fever, from which she recovered by means of the skill & attention of Dr. Ludlow & A. Till Adams. In the interval, much thinking of her dangerous state, on the 24th, I took a ride home alone in a chaise, full of many profitable reflections – not one more so than the sense I had of my own weakness. This winter we did not leave the country till the 3rd of December.

December 29. Fidy Berry & her lover John Pinnock of Devizes, drank tea with my sister & me. Her friends, ourselves of the number, were much pleased with the prospect of her being married to a man of whom we had heard a worthy character. He appeared to be sensible.

Much variety the foregoing year afforded; & much to be thankful for.

1778

January 8th. Poor little innocent Black Ned,^w who had been better, but was again worse, though not thought by the family to be near his end, died in the morning. I visited him at short intervals, but no one was with him at the time he expired, which gave me some concern. But to all appearance, his innocent soul quitted its mansion without a struggle. He had much desired to be released before the following week, when he was to have been put on board ship to try the effect of the voyage & the change of climate. But though he contemplated death without terror, yet from an early impression he had received, he connected his body with his soul in a future happy state; & therefore he feared if he died on board ship the crabs would eat him, which would prevent his going to Heaven, where he said he should go to God & see his mother again. The amiable simplicity of this boy, whom I really loved, often led me to reflect on the abuse of the advantages we enjoy on this favoured isle; for surely untaught he adored his great Benefactor. He was interred in Friends' Burial ground adjoining Friar's meeting.

10th. My brother & sister Champion set out for London, leaving me the care of the family. All the children it being vacation time were at home. In about 10 days, I took some of them to school; & though I had anticipated their departure as a time very desirable, I felt much at parting with two little girls, particularly Eliza, whose gentleness called forth affection, & who shed tears at our departure, which occasioned my returning home with my dear little Hetty quite out of spirits. She commenced day school at Michael's Hill, where she went every day with Charlotte Fox, who was under the care of Betsy Bush in Castle Ditch whither they had removed from Horfield Lane.

February 2nd. I accompanied my sister to Kingsdown to a house lately inhabited by Thomas Frank, who had let it ready furnished for three months to my brother Tuckett. I came home as soon as I had settled her there. About this time Polly Tuckett came to her brother's house in Castle Green where she staid some time, & from then removed to M. Russell where she was boarded.

March. In this month Thomas Frank became a bankrupt, but the integrity of his partners [see page] preserved, or I should rather say, was I doubt not the means of their preservation of their honour & credit, which remained entire. This failure was so talked of that a quaker could hardly pass the streets whilst the subject was recent, without notice. The character T.F. endeavoured to maintain in the Society made it the more talked of, as well as his being so considerable a merchant. But his drawing in two worthy young men as partners under false pretences, & it is most probable, only to add to

^w See {entry for March 17, 1777 on} page {51}.

his own credit, was a very faulty part of his conduct. With my sister, I paid his poor wife a visit soon after her husband's disgrace became public. Betsy Frank had long been in an ill state of health; but this shock seemed as if it would be too much for her feeble frame to support. T.F., whatever were his failings, was good tempered & had ever made her a kind husband. She had long suffered much from disease, perhaps increased by her anxiety lest he should go too far in trade, which she continually laboured to prevent. But vain & fruitless were both her anxiety & attempts.^x

23rd. In the evening departed this life Ruth Rutter, after a very lingering illness at her husband's [Thomas Rutter's] house in Castle Street. Many of those who experienced her kindness & affection to her friends, loved her memory. The day before the funeral I called to see T.R., whom I found in such a state as might be expected from a husband who, having cause to be satisfied with his conduct, & having been long a witness to the sufferings of one he loved, felt this truth that He who gave had a right to take away. The first day morning following with many others I attended her funeral. At the meeting W^m Matthews of Bath preached. At the grave, her husband in an affecting manner & with a low voice bore a short testimony of the fitness of the deceased for the solemn change.

During this time of my being left in the care of the family [see under Jan 10] I had much anxiety on several accounts, but I seemed enabled to go through all the fatigue of body & mind I had to encounter with activity & good

^x [I have not thought it best to omit this account of my grandfather Frank's failure, & the painful circumstances attending it. The remarkable address of Thomas Whilly, noticed at page {54}, would seem to have been as ineffectual as the efforts of my grandmother, to check her husband in his ill-advised course. The whole forms one among many sad examples of the folly of "making haste to be rich". My dear father Arnee Frank, T.F.'s only son, was naturally somewhat reticent on the subject, & the circumstances stated by S. Fox in connection with it, were quite unknown to me before perusing her journal. The following allusion to the failure is the only one that occurs in the brief sketch of his early life, written for his family by my late father. "My father who was in the wholesale grocery business having become embarrassed in his affairs, his concern was broken up, & for reasons with which I was unacquainted, being then at a distant boarding school [Compton] and under 12 years of age, he left Bristol, staid a short time in London, assisting in some wholesale house there, & from thence finally left this country & settled in the state of Vermont, North America, where he carried on some very small business for a livelihood until his death which took place in 1796. At his death I was about 30 years old, & had previously come into possession of some property [from his maternal grandfather J. Fry] out of the income from which, for several previous years.... I have annually made him a shipment of such goods as I found were most suitable for that part The retrospect of this my endeavour to help him does now afford me satisfaction, as it did at the time." J[ohn] F[rank]]

spirits. I walked most days to Kingsdown to see my sister T. after dinner, where little Hetty used to meet me from school, & we went home together. I often also visited my aunt Rogers & every day once sometimes twice, wrote to my sister Champion & received letters from her which kept up the spirit of our correspondence, & proved a great amusement to us both; indeed an intercourse with her had for many years been as habitual to me as my food.

One of the most uncomfortable feelings I experienced was the constant expectations given me of my brother & sister C.'s return, which subjected me to continual disappointments. On the 1st of April the long expected event happened, & to my great satisfaction I once more welcomed them home.

April 7th. Anne Bawden with two children came to Kingsdown to pay my brother & sister Tuckett a visit. They brought with them a neat old woman who had been a servant with P.D.T's grandmother when he was a child.

9th. At the workhouse⁵⁶ at the funeral of W^m Brag.

14th. At the marriage of John Pinnock & Fidelity Berry by invitation. From Fryar's meeting we drove directly to the Christopher at Bath. After dinner most of the company went to see M. Wright's wax work.⁵⁷ She was herself present, & as great a curiosity as anything there. Here we met with the once much respected Richard Painter of Bath; whom I had never seen since his countenance expressed the meekness the patience & the lowliness of his great pattern. Now all these were exchanged for the image of the brute, for it was a countenance indicating drunkenness, with his conversation as correspondent with his appearance now as formerly. I turned from the sight with horror.^y In our company at this marriage was Robert Clarke who had married Fidy's sister. He was a lively, entertaining companion, but as a preacher I never admired him. In the evening Fidy & I took an affectionate leave of each other, & I left her with the sincerest wishes for her happiness. Her sister Emma went home with her to the Devizes.

May 17th. The Yearly Meeting here. Dined at home with my brother & sister C. who went directly after to Henbury for the summer. Drank tea at the widow Bush's with C. Philips &c &c. Went from evening meeting to Kingsdown where I lodged. John Helton & Emma Berry breakfasted with us next morning. Went to meeting with my sister in the afternoon. Fifth day staid all day at Kingsdown, where J. Helton called & proposed introducing

^y This poor man was as great a proof of the mercy of his God as of the depravity of human nature, and of the danger of turning from Him and forsaking his service; and becoming our own keepers. For not long after this period; in a long lingering illness, He was gracious pleased to call this "straggler home"; and those who visited him in the latter part of his illness say that his countenance again expressed a change of heart, and that he closed his eyes in peace. Note by S. Fox in her journal.

to us a young woman who had, since he came among us, attended our meeting. Her name was Flower. The next day she dined with us, & I walked down in town with her in the evening. The time was too short to form any accurate idea of her, but that it was easy to perceive she was partial to her introducer, who also dined with us.

27th. Removing from Kingsdown.

June 2nd. Martha Williams from Wales, an honest worthy, religious woman dined & drank tea with us.

4th. Sally Young & John Helton came to drink tea with us. J.H. took his leave, as were going next day to Cheltenham. He proposed to go to Ireland from the London Yearly Meeting, but intended soon to return to England, being partial to Bristol. As we had much enjoyed his society & frequent visits, we much regretted the loss of them.

5th. Set out for Cheltenham again taking little Hetty with us, where we arrived the same evening. {My brother & sister Tuckett quitted their lodgings in order to receive William Cookworthy, with whom on the following First day I dined, & who preached at the morning meeting in a manner that led to a recollection of late trials but led also to inexpressible comfort under them & was more consolatory to my mind than is the power of lanugage to convey.}⁵⁸

Here, I paused, & taking a view of the remaining part of my journal, determined to close at this period, offering it to my beloved brother, at whose request I have many years continued it, as it is. If, in the persual of it, he should be helped to some useful reflections, I shall be amply rewarded. Considering it, as it chiefly is, a brief account where I have passed my time, it is certainly uninteresting; nor should I have thought it worth thy acceptance independent of a former request. But observing our frequent separations since this date (1778), I thought it would become still less interesting; besides, the clouds that have intervened to darken the sunshine with which, in many respects, we were for some years favoured, might render the rest painful in the persual. But that good Hand who unseen can support under every vicissitude, is all sufficient. He can bless the bitter cup, nor can anything he permits to befall us hurt our best interests, if we keep in our proper places.

I acknowledge with a sense of gratitude to my dear brother & sister, that their kindness to me during my residence with them is remembered by me with those pleasing sensations such behaviour naturally inspires. Such remembrance adds strength to the ardent wish that we may be so led & preserved the remainder of our pilgrimage here that whatever may be our separate allotments in this world, we may have a well grounded hope of meeting in that state where separation shall be no more known. "In the world

ye shall have trouble but in me peace.” This language is felt to be as true now by the followers of Him who uttered it, as it was to those to whom it was immediately delivered. Yours, as well as you, my dear brother & sister, often employ my thoughts, & I earnestly hope they will be preserved in those good dispositions for which they are individually distinguished. They are placed immediately under your care, & their future conduct is likely to be regulated by their being properly introduced into the world. Forgive a solemn caution, the result of a warm, affectionate solicitude. It is, indeed, a solemn subject – the importance of it so great that I feel a relief in not having the part of a parent to act. When I consider how much the eternal happiness of children, as well as the happiness of the present moment, depends upon the parental attention, I cannot but be anxiously concerned that those I love may be able to discharge a trust so important.

Sarah Champion.

This conclusion to my brother & sister Champion was written at Cheltenham in 1783, whilst they were residing at Chelsea.

To Richard Champion 9th month 1784.

At the time the foregoing was written it was intended as a legacy to my dear brother; but though at this period when himself & family are about to leave England, I wish to avoid raising ideas of a gloomy nature, respecting our meeting again in this world yet as life is very precarious & the opportunities of conveyance very uncertain, I feel a desire of sending this journal to accompany you on board ship. It may serve, both now & in the future, as the remembrancer of a sister who more than wishes for the happiness of a much loved brother both here & hereafter.

The original of this was accordingly sent on board ship to accompany R. & S. Champion to America.

End

[of the first of the three volumes from which the present extracts are taken.

J.F.]

Continuation of S. Champion's journal from the conclusion of that which she sent her brother R. Champion on board ship.

Continued by the desire of my brother Tuckett, which I the reader comply with, as I hope taking a view of my past life has afforded me some instruction, & awakened a sense of gratitude to that preserving power who has graciously at different periods of a chequered life made me sensible of my own weakness & his sufficiency. For he has been to me, “Riches in poverty, strength in weakness, & a present help in the needful time.” Under a

sense of his unmerited mercies, I write this in the first leaf, long after the following sheets.

17th day of the 12th month 1790
S. Fox

{The journal then resumes at 1778 - M.D.}

1778

June 5th 1778. Set out for Cheltenham [as before mentioned]. My brother Tuckett accompanied us to Gloucester & from thence went to the London Yearly Meeting. Nearly 3 weeks after, he paid us a short visit & came again on the

7th of July, fatigued with the heat & disturbed by distressing occurrences in my brother C.'s family. He left us in a day or two. On the 20th we were surprised by seeing Dr. Ludlow, his wife & daughter, with whom we spent two evenings at an inn, & accompanied them to the walks.

25th. My sister was very ill, & in two days after we had a most welcome sympathizing visit from J. & M. Dallaway. M.D. staid with us a few days, during which my brother T. came, just before her departure, & found my sister better. M.D.'s visit had been truly acceptable, as from the repeated distressing accounts we received respecting my brother C.'s affairs,⁵⁹ we wanted that sort of consolation which the conversation of such a friend affords. Under a grateful sense of the help mercifully extended in a time of trial, I was enabled to bear everything which related to myself only, without being distressed; fully satisfied that whether riches or poverty was my portion, either state might be equally blessed by that Power who feeds the ravens & clothes the lilies, & without whose permission not a sparrow falleth to the ground. Nay, He hath said, "The very hairs of your head are all numbered." Why then should we distrust the care of him who has made us these gracious promises? He is able to raise us friends in every emergency. To be resigned therefore to the loss of my fortune cost me little – the less perhaps, from having naturally not much attachment to money or fear of the future. But the blow, nevertheless, fell with considerable force. I was afflicted when I reflected on my brother & sister C.'s situation, surrounded by a large young family; & still more, if possible, I felt on account of some differences between those I loved. With these I laboured with earnestness to restore peace; till, finding every effort fruitless, I endeavoured to become an inactive spectator, receiving from all every mark of affectionate regard.

In our way home from Cheltenham my sister was so ill that we were obliged to stay two days at the Bell at Gloucester. On the 16th of August we arrived at Castle Green – the day on which Betsy Frank^z was buried, whose funeral we had proposed to attend had not our detention at Gloucester put it out of our power. After staying one night in Bristol, I went with my dear little Hetty to Henbury, & notwithstanding all my apprehensions, felt very comfortable after our first interview was over. It was settled contrary to my hopes, that they were to give up their town house & stay in the country. My brother T. took lodgings at Wick for my sister, where I often visited her, & often walked with her to Lawrence Weston where my brother T. was building a house. Sometimes, though seldom, I went to Bristol meeting, & to see my aunt Rogers, A. Goldney &c.

October 5th. My brother & sister T. quitted their country lodgings in order to receive W^m Cookworthy, with whom, on the following First-day, I dined; & who preached at the morning meeting in a manner that led to the recollection of late trials, but led also to inexpressible comfort under them, & was more consolatory to my mind than is in the power of language to convey.

In this month was removed by means of a putrid fever W^m Cowles. He was a considerable loss, being thought a man of solid sense & sound judgment. He had also a small gift in the ministry, & was considered to be improving as a religious character, though beset with many hindering things, having large possessions & a corpulent body. He left a widow, the youngest daughter of the late Richard Reynolds.

November. About the 9th I was summoned to Bristol on account of my brother T. being sent for to his grandmother. He arrived at Looe too late for her to know him, though she had wished to see him – a very distressing circumstance to her affectionate grandson. She died in the 88th year of her age, leaving a most amiable character. Contented with little for herself, she rejoiced in feeding the hungry & clothing the naked – departing full of days, full of peace, & in full assurance of a happy immortality!

Dec 31. The end of a year in which many trials have affectingly engaged my attention; yet I trust under every painful dispensation, I have felt this truth “that affliction cometh not from the dust neither doth sorrow spring out of the ground.”

^z The wife of Thomas Frank. She died 8 mo 9th 1778 aged about 85 years and was buried according to the official copy of our momt. register on the 14th of the same month, *not* the 16th as stated above. J.F.

1779

February 1st. Accompanied my sister to take a child, who had been recommended to her care by its dying mother to the wife of John Champion Sen^r, who was its great aunt. The manner in which she received the infant in her arms was truly affecting; but she was inured to misfortune as an unhappy propensity her husband had to scheming had involved them often in great distress.

6th. H. Bevington & S. Stevenson, being on a family visit, drank tea with us at my brother T.'s. There were present, added to the master & mistress of the house, John Waring, John Tuckett, & myself – a satisfactory opportunity. In the evening I heard of the arrival of Sam^l Neale, & the next morning (after paying an unpleasant visit to Edwd. H.) went to meeting, where the sight of S. Neale drove every disagreeable thought from my mind. At two of the three meetings, I had the satisfaction of hearing him. I drank tea with him at J. T. Adams', & supped with him at L. Hawksworth's where he lodged. J. Garnt. was his companion. The next day they took tea with us. The company was large & afterwards he preached on these words, "When my father & mother forsake me then the Lord will take me up." We dined with him the next day at M. Wright's & on the following I went with him L.H. &c. in a coach to Frenchay. The next we dined with him at J. Fry's, & the following at J.T.A's, where the subject of electricity being introduced, I was prevailed with to join in receiving a shock, from the effects of which I did not recover for many hours. First day S.N. preached at all the meetings & took tea with us. In the morning I was sent for home on account of my sister C. being poorly, but on her getting better I came back the next day to meeting; & spent the evening with S.N. at L.H.'s. It was the eve of his departure, & having persued the enjoyment of his company more that it is profitable to persue anything, I was not sorry he was going to leave us; though there are few – very few – pleasures treasured up in my mind so delightfully as the society of this valuable, agreeable friend, whose ministry in the season of youth had been one means of awakening me from a state of vanity & dissipation. In person he was much altered, though in other respects equally pleasing. This portion of enjoyment seemed as a sweetener to some bitters I had to partake of – a relaxation from painful scenes through which I had lately passed.

April 2nd. My aunt Rogers was engaged to drink tea with us [at P.D.T's], but on hearing that L. Hawksworth & C. Philips were coming to see us, I went to inform my aunt of it, & looking through the window, saw her sleeping with her spectacles on, a book open before her. In this situation, I had time to contemplate the wisdom & serenity of her countenance, & much did I wish for an artist to preserve the remembrance of the casket containing such a gem. But her virtues are the best remembrance. They must ever dwell in the

minds of those who were favoured with an intimate knowledge of them. Our expected guests came to tea, after which we went upstairs, where a silence soon succeeded. C.P. knelt down & was engaged in a manner peculiarly applicable to my sister state [then ill & low] & was attended with very comfortable effects. In two days after I was persuaded to accompany my brother, T. & E. Fox, to a meeting at Oldbury where were L.H. & C.P. we dined with S. Young.

May 2nd. The Yearly Meeting. The first meeting of this day I attended, & had, at the close of it, some conversation with my aunt Rogers, as I staid with her till the Meeting House was partly emptied. The rest of the day, after attending some company who dined with us, I staid with my sister in her chamber, who though not confined there, was too low & poorly to mix with strangers or go to meeting. At the next day's afternoon meeting, I was told by M.S. that my aunt R. was not well, having had a shivering fit, but no danger was apprehended. I called, but did not see her. 3rd day I made another attempt to see my aunt, but was told by E. Sanders, who was on a visit to her mother, that she must be kept quiet, & that therefore my visit had better be deferred. On my returning home, before I had seated myself in the parlour, Betsy Bright, whom S. Beaufoy (her affairs requiring her visiting Evesham) had left with her mother, came running after me to say that my aunt had just remarked my not seeing her. I immediately returned, & had soon the satisfaction of being at her bedside, where I spent much time till the final close. The next morning on her inquiring when we expected my sister from Frenchay [where she had gone for change & quiet during the Y. Meeting] I went down stairs intending to send for her, when she unexpectedly came up the court, having been uneasy to stay longer on my aunt's account. At this time, at lodgings at Stapleton, lay on his death bed after a lingering illness Corsley Rogers, where he expired on the day preceeding that on which his valuable mother quitted mortality. Though this was an event she expected, her family did not think proper to inform her of it. On the 9th we sent early to inquire after her, & received for answer that she was rather better. Soon after I went to the house & was surprised to hear from E. Sanders that she feared all was nearly over. He{r} mother had exceedingly altered that morning at 4, & a little revival was the occasion of the message we had received. After going home to apprise my sister of the mistake, I returned to the chamber of sickness & found my aunt's countenance changed. My sister soon joined me by her bedside. I felt a sort of cowardice that suggested a removal before the last conflict took place. It is with inexpressible satisfaction, I reflect that it happened otherwise. She lay quiet till about 12 o'clock, appeared sensible, & after one deep inward sigh or groan, the soul quitted its mansion. At this solemn moment I felt – as I had never felt before – lifted above earth & earthly pursuits. I tasted of that which the language of mortality cannot express & experimentally knew that,

“The chamber where the good man meets his fate
“Is privileged beyond the common walk
“Of virtuous life – quite on the verge of heaven.”

We sad a considerable time in this solemn silence, E. Sanders, M. Lloyd, my sister, & myself. O had I thus attended the last moments of her angelic daughter, how much more comfortable had been my reflections when memory presented her to my mind. It could not have added to her felicity, but it would have increased my own during the remainder of my stay on earth. O may I be qualified for a reunion with her in that state where human frailty shall no more exist, where no separation can ever be experienced & no deceit practised, for we shall know even as we are known.

On retiring, I felt that I had lost a friend that was invaluable, one who had for many years honoured me with an intimate communication of her sentiments; & if I ever wanted advice or consolation, to her I had recourse, & found both wisdom & comfort. Yet I could not mourn her loss. I rather hailed her deliverance; for such had been the trials of this excellent woman as to blunt the edge of that distress the idea of a separation from her would otherwise have occasioned. She was ill one day less than a week. She told the doctor her day's work was done & indeed it appeared to those about her that “she had nothing to do but to die.” The following Friday the remains of my aunt R. were buried at Redcliff Yard. I staid with my sister while my brother T. attended the funeral where, in the course of what T. Rutter delivered, were these words, “Mark the perfects & behold the upright for their end is peace.”

The next evening we spent at the Irongates, a very affecting visit to my feelings. With the will was found an excellent letter from the deceased to her children.

In a short time after this I accompanied my brother & sister T. to their new habitation at Lawrence Weston where I staid till the 23rd & then went to Henbury.

June 15th. My brother & sister T. went to Bristol to receive W^m Cookworthy & his grandson W^m Fox. The following evening I had the satisfaction, on going to town, to be received with uncommon kindness by the good old gentleman. In a few days we dined with him at Dr. Ludlow's, where he was very lively, particularly on the doctrine of sympathy. The next [day] we dined at J. Till Adams' in a large company, amongst whom was the celebrated John Henderson, a young man of talents & learning so extraordinary as to be considered almost a prodigy. He was said to be at the meridian of his knowledge at nineteen, & was now twenty-three. Though little in his person & boyish in his appearance, his countenance was pleasing, & he appeared to me, though gaining general attention, to be modest & unassuming. His company was much sought by men of sense & letters; & if

by a right application of such superior abilities, he should be led to dedicate them to the service of religion, he will, I have no doubt be deservedly classed with some of the greatest men of the age.

June 23rd. Thomas Landcate dined with us, a person to whom W. Law addresses some of his letters, cautioning him against too much activity of spirit; which caution appeared to be very necessary. George Bawne {Bawm} was another of our guests, the singularity of whose countenance & expressions, as well as the originality of his ideas, often procured him admission into circles from which his situation in life might otherwise have excluded him. He was poor; & from his disposition never could be otherwise, as he had been known to give away his last shilling because he supposed the person on whom he bestowed it wanted it more than himself. His easiness of temper subjected him to imposition; but he was contented with little, looking forward to that hour when riches can no longer be of use. He was so much attached to the writings of W^m Law that he would sometimes hire his poor neighbours to hear him read out of them. The next day I walked with W. Cookworthy to R. Fry's where we drank tea. In the course of this walk I remarked, & remarked with concern, that our valuable friend had lost much of his bodily strength, & therefore feared, though his mind seemed increasing in vigour, that old age was stealing upon. We drank tea one day at Sam^l Dyer's & dined another at T. Rutter's. In a few days W.C. went to Bath, & staid one night. On his return he appeared so animated – so full of that spirit which breathes “peace on earth & good will to man”, that he seemed to be nearly all mind, & communicated a measure of that love with which he was himself filled. We also spent one day at Stoke, where the old gentleman was very silent; but on our return home where we found a large company assembled, he was very lively, & conversed, as usual, an hour beyond my powers of enjoyment. Early in the morning, the latter end of the first week in August, W^m C. & his agreeable grandson left us, & left us impressed with the peculiar satisfaction his company had produced; but not without a fear we should never again enjoy it on earth; from the observation that his outward tabernacle was beginning to decay; & the more this seemed to be the case, the more strong, animated, & lively was the great inhabitant, & therefore more fitted for “a house eternal in the heavens.” The next afternoon, after drinking tea at A. Goldney's, I accompanied my sister to Lawrence Weston. In the course of this month the combined fleets of France & Spain were seen off Plymouth; the report of which, on account of our friends there much affected us.^{aa}

^{aa} When the French fleet appeared off, in 1779, he of course, as a quaker, could not fight; but he seems to have recommended, though 75 years of age, that the quakers should have charge of the women and children, and convey them to a place of safety, in case of the expected attack. *Relics of W^m Cookworthy* (p 9).

August 12. Dined at home with Lady Harriet Sturgeon⁶⁰ a sister of the Marquis of Rockingham, who had offended her friends by making an improper choice of a husband. The next day with my sister C. drank tea at George Hunt's. His wife, a very worthy woman, had dedicated the one talent to religion. They were once reduced to such a state of poverty that 3d was all they had left – & by giving up to what she thought an impression of duty, she put herself in the way of obtaining a small present, with which they again began the world, & have prospered ever since. She appeared to have much faith & dependence; & by faith & dependence, I verily believe men may gain ability to obtain temporal as well as spiritual sustenance; for if we ask & receive not, it is because we “ask amiss.” [G. Hunt was the father of the late Henry Hunt of the Fort, Bristol – long an elder & active member of our Monthly Meeting.]

Nov 26th. Accompanied my brother & sister T. to John Tuckett's in Bridge Street, as her situation was too critical to remain in the country at such a season of the year. Soon after we were settled there she was very ill. I spent one evening this month at J. Fry's with H. Moore, T. Litchworth, Henderson, &c; but so much had the distressing scenes through which I had passed depressed my spirits, that I could not enjoy, as once I could have done, such interesting company. [The allusion is to severe illness in her brother Champion's family, & the removal by death of his daughter Eliza.]

Till the close of this year my sister T. continued low & poorly – sometimes wholly confined to her bed. Our friends Lydia Hawksworth & T. Rutter often visited us, as well as some others. I was myself in a very afflicted state, feeling much for my sister, & often hearing painful accounts from Henbury from whence my brother & sister C. were going for some time. Added to all this, I was painfully affected with rheumatism, & having to feel for all I held dear, I had no earthly resource to apply to for comfort. But this was not wholly withheld, though sometimes I could not feel its influence as much as I wished. Yet as I desired to look where it is never sought in vain, it was at times, mercifully extended.

1780

1780 Feb. 8th. At meeting where was married Thomas Rutter to Esther Farley.

March 1st. I took 7 of my brother C's children to Fair. This evening the town was generally illuminated. The mob was very riotous, & did much mischief.

6th. We set out for the Devizes to pay our friend F. Pinnock a visit, & with a hope that the air & exercise might improve my sister's health. But she was so much affected with the motion of the carriage that we were obliged to stop some time at Keynsham & lodged that night at Bath. The next morning

we got to the Devizes where we were affectionately welcomed by the mistress of a very pretty house, in which she appeared to be comfortably settled. Here we staid near a week, which I think I should have enjoyed, had I not been disappointed in the hope I had entertained respecting my sister's health. My brother had left us but returned with J. Waring the evening before we set out. We attended Melksham meeting in our way home & dined at Edward Jeffrey's. Soon after our return, I paid a bride visit to S. Frampton at the Irongates. The house called up the recollection of scenes on which I love to dwell. Those whom I valued & esteemed, who then inhabited it, are now removed to more lasting habitations. O! may I be found worthy to meet them there!

April 16th. Arrived Samuel Notingham⁶¹ & his wife (of America) from Ireland. They lodged at T. Rutter's,⁶² & intended to reside in Bristol. He was an agreeable minister & appeared to be an agreeable man. Emma Berry was our welcome guest about this time, but her stay was short. One evening after she was gone, as I was sitting by the fire contemplating on some affecting subjects, & in a state in which I felt incapable of undertaking anything, I received a message from my brother T. to inform me he should bring home a stranger to supper. Necessity soon procured powers of exertion, & by the time the company came, I was almost got into a capacity of enjoyment. It was R. Barclay, with whom I spent a very pleasant evening. He appeared agreeable, & much of the gentleman.

23rd. Was the Yearly Meeting where some who much wished it were gratified by hearing Samuel Notingham who, I believe, answered their expectations, as he did mine.

May. On [the first] First day were interred the remains of Martha Penny, who was a great loss to her brother, as he was in an infirm state.

9th. In a visit from L.H[awksworth] she opened her mind to us on a subject from which she had extracted a great portion of the bitters that were mingled in her draught in life. The formation of some minds, amiable in other respects, [cause them to be] so susceptible of injuries from events that were never meant to inflict them, that these become real misfortunes. But it is perhaps one of the hardest [lessons] we have to learn – that of making proper allowances for those frailties of other which do not happen to be constitutionally our own.

11th. My brother & sister C. came home, whom I accompanied to Henbury, & was much pleased to deliver up my young charge – to see them under the care of a good mother, who was favoured with some of the best dispositioned children I ever met with.

22nd. Finding all else ineffectual we once more took my sister T. to Cheltenham where we lodged at Avis's, our friend Shelicom being deceased

since we were last there. My brother left us in a few days to go into the West, but surprised us with a visit first, in consequence of having heard my sister was worse; but finding her better, it was debated between us whether we should remain at Cheltenham or accompany him to Plymouth; as by some late accounts of the state of health of our valuable friend W^m Cookworthy, it was improbable we should have another opportunity of seeing him in mortality. But when we considered he had lately been afflicted with great lowness, & on that account had a dislike to see his friends, we thought it most prudent to remain where we were, & on the 3rd of June my brother T. again left us.

July 18. We left Cheltenham & were met at Gloucester by my brother T. who accompanied us to Stroud where J. & M. Dallaway were in lodgings, waiting for a house, he having been induced to quit his country retreat & once more enter into business. From the hills &c, we found so many difficulties, that we did not get to our friends till long after their dinner time. The next day we persued our journey & in the evening arrived at Lawrence Weston, & on the following day I went to Henbury.

In August we had two or three visits at L.W. from S. Notingham, & once he staid to lodge. Another time I spent a day there with Betsy Fox of Falmouth who appeared religious & sensible. Little Betsy Fox staid a few days there; she was come to go to Frenchay school.

In September. Edmund Burke & his brother Richard spent an evening with us at Henbury. Sensible & interesting as was this celebrated man he would have been more so had his conversation not been so much confined to Politics & farming subjects – no ways pleasant to me. His brother was more general in his topics.

20th. My brother T. left home in order to be present at the marriage of G. C. Fox & C. Young. I accompanied my sister to town in order to meet our Betsy Fox. We staid with her two days when she went to the Circular Meeting. In this week were elected & chaired Matthew Brickdale & Sir Henry Lippincot.⁶³ After my brother T's return I went to town again to meet Betsy Fox. She came with me to L. Weston & staid till the 6th of October. She was hastened home by hearing that her uncle Cookworthy was very ill.

On the 19th in the evening we heard of his disease, & by repeated accounts had learned that "his senses were mostly clear thro' the whole. He expressed to a friend whom he loved that he had a sense he was sinking fast, under which he appeared to be supported with the comfortable expectation of approaching happiness. Once he repeated with great earnestness, "My soul longs to be desolved & to be with Christ." After his speech became almost unintelligible, he would sometimes look up with such a smile on his

countenance as no words can express – a heavenly appearance. He said he should go without a sigh, & told his apothecary that he was going where the wicked cease from troubling & the weary are at rest. He appeared to retain his senses to the last, though he could not speak for many hours before his departure. Even those who were by his bedside could not distinguish the moment he quitted mortality.” I shall add a few lines from the Testimony of his Monthly Meeting:-

“Towards the close of his life it pleased the Divine Dispenser of all good to lead him through some afflictive dispensations of mind as well as body; from which, when its purpose was accomplished which seemed to be a further purification for his final close, he was brought forth with a mind as resigned as it was fitted for a heavenly mansion. As he drew near his end, he was calm, sensible, & unclouded in his hope of happiness. In company with his children & a few others of his friends, he expressed what had been the prevailing wish of his life in a short comment on that text, ‘Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace & good will to men.’”

31st. L. Hawksworth spent a very comfortable day with us, first going to meeting, where we though she preached to us. The congregation consisted of three or four.

Nov 7th. S. Sewel at meeting, where she preached three times, after which my sister & myself went to Frenchay, where we spend two or three days with H. Rogers, & in our way home took tea at Stapleton at R. Fry’s with L.H., & lodged at John Tuckett’s. Soon after this my brother T. came home from London, where he had been two weeks, & being now entered into business with his brother, & having had a fall from his horse, occasioned by his coming home late, on these accounts they quitted their pretty abode in the country. On the 23rd of December, after helping my sister to prepare for their removal, I accompanied them to Horfield Lane to a house lately occupied by Jane C. March.

25th. John & Sally, & John Waring dined with us.

The end of an unsettled year, very rapid in its progress: but at the close of it I was favoured to know more outward comfort.

1781

February 16th. I breakfasted at J. Fry’s with M. Knowles whom I had formerly known as the celebrated Molly Morris. Time had impaired her beauty without lessening her attractions. She was affable & unaffected. With abilities superior to most of her sex, she conversed with freedom & cheerful vivacity. She spent one evening with us, when she was very agreeable.

In this month I often dined with Mark & S. Harford who occupied Sam. Lloyd's house while they went to Newbury. Mark was in a very poor state of health, his complaints not easily found out; but they were not thought to indicate immediate danger.

April 4th. Heard that Mark Harford was worse, & that Dr Ludlow was sent for.

29th. I dined in Brunswick Square but did not as usual see Mark Harford. He was not quite so well on that day, but was considered to be mending, & going to Bath as recommended. I went from thence to the afternoon meeting at Temple Street, & staid in my way home to tea at J. Ring's. Just as I was retired to my chamber for the night, I received a note from Dr Ludlow desiring I would come immediately to M. Harford's, for it was not probable he would live through the night. On my approaching his bedside I found him in a dying state. He appeared insensible & groaned incessantly. I accompanied his wife into another room & sat with her the whole night. Once he seemed a little revived but soon relapsed – lived only till about 8 o'clock the next morning. I had sent the coach for M. Lloyd, but she did not arrive till our valued friend had breathed his last, whom I had too long known & esteemed not to feel on the occasion. The constant intercourse we had from childhood had, at a maturer age ripened into friendship. He had many years been united in affection with the friend of my youth who was afterwards my sister, & since his marriage with my cousin we had lived much together. What passed in an affecting interview a short time before his decease, is strongly imprinted on my memory. He said in this trying, lingering, illness he had, he hoped, experienced his sufferings sanctified to him, assured me of his steady regard, praised his wife as a good nurse to him, but could not be persuaded he should ever recover. His disorder was imputed to various causes, & perhaps it originated in them all unitedly. He was most certainly uneasy from an idea that his expenses exceeded his income. The riches his father possessed seemed to a{g}gravate this uneasiness – he loved his son but gold was his idol – to that he sacrificed the social affections. The valuable deceased had long lived a life of suffering; though, perhaps, had he resigned himself to the guidance of the great Shepherd to be led into a straiter path than his education had taught him was necessary, but to which he believed himself called in the early part of his marriage, he might have been more useful to society & more happy in himself, & by that means escaped a path strewed with thorns. But a natural diffidence seemed to discourage him in every pursuit. His sensibility was great & his temper reserved. This often occasioned his keeping things fast locked up in his own breast which, if he had communicated, it might have been a relief to him. He passed through the last 20 years of his life with little comfort to himself, never long together enjoying health or spirits. Thus having learned resignation in the school of affliction, those of his surviving

friends who were capable of sympathizing with him, received consolation in believing that his change was happy for himself, & that his Heavenly Father had in mercy taken him. He left 5 children, two sons at an age when a good father's care is most wanted, a little boy whose first coat was mourning for his parent, & two girls:- the eldest of whom has a serious turn & loved the company of religious people. The funeral was the first of May, till when I spent part of every day with the widow, M.L. was wholly with her. Sam. Lloyd came from Newbury on the occasion leaving his father in law R. Vokins a corpse, whose burial he returned to after he had attended his uncle Harford's.

May 12th. S. Stevenson & M. Routh⁶⁴ paid us an agreeable visit.

13th. The Yearly Meeting.

27th. I rode out with S. Harford on her first going out, & in the course of the week went with L. Hawksworth to pay her a visit, who gave her, in a very affectionate manner, suitable advice in conversation. Soon after this S.H. went back to Stoke, a place she was remarkably attached to.

June 4th. My brother & sister [C.] came from Staffordshire. I waited their arrival at the Full Moon & accompanied them to Henbury, but came back to Horfield Lane the next evening to receive [company].

Aug 5th. Went to see Samuel Notingham who had a very pretty house on the parade at Kingsdown. He was at this time afflicted with a very trying nervous disorder – sometimes very low, at others so restless that though he often called on his friends, he seldom staid long in one place, the most afflicting of all disorders surely.

8th. Drank tea with good, old Ann Summerland. Debby Darby was with her.

24th. D. Darby & Ann Summerland drank tea with us, but not being able to have them without other company, my brother took them upstairs to his wife [then confined to her bed] where they had a comfortable meeting.

September 6th. About this period S. Notingham called frequently. It was very distressing to be witness to his sufferings, but the great Master whom he served sustained him under the severest conflicts in the cheering hope that all would be well with him “beyond time's boundless continent.”

Oct 19th. Dined at L. Hawksworth's with Isaac Grey [or Guy] after which we had a comfortable meeting. Between dinner & tea I went to Peter Eaton's to see the family from Henbury.

30th. My sister Champion & her two daughters, Julia & Hetty, came to take leave on going to reside in Staffordshire. This was a distressing parting scene. I felt inexpressibly for her when I reflected on the trials she probably yet had to encounter. Till they were gone I was able to surpress my grief,

which I [then] retired to give vent to. In this state my brother found me when he called to bid us fare-well. Yet, affected as I was, I was gratefully impressed with the consideration that Providence had mercifully provided me with another home, & after the first emotions were over, I saw a glimpse of hope I might one day pay them a visit in Staffordshire.

Nov 6th. Betsy Fox of Wadge Bridge {Wadebridge} at tea with Sil Bevan, to whom her sister was soon to be married.

25th. S. Notingham, who had for some time been getting better, was at meeting & preached most affectingly, alluding to his own late sufferings. The satisfaction this gave me, as well as other of his friends, was very great.

29th. My sister [T] confined with a little girl, the sound of whose little voice gave universal satisfaction. It was one of those moments I had seldom experienced, nor are perhaps enjoyments without alloy often fit for us. Such bright gleams of sunshine I had only twice before beheld; the first time was on being restored to my friends in Bristol after having been a year in London – next on being delivered from a watery grave, & now on hearing the voice of a little representative of a beloved sister who, though often having had the hour of conflict to pass through had never before been a mother. For my brother T. I also felt, who was to me as a real brother & true friend. The child was called Esther Champion Tuckett. I soon found that when the mind is raised, by outward events, above the common level, it will sink in proportion. This truth I full experienced on the present occasion; though my sister & the child went on well, & we suffered no inconvenience, but from the perverseness of the month nurse; a set of people those who wish to treat their children rationally, & according to nature, had better be without.

Dec 23rd. Heard after meeting that Sam Lloyd had a son born to him that morning who was called Sam^l Edward.

During this year we had frequent visits from J. Waring in an evening, & sometimes J. Tuckett with whom & his sister Sally, we kept up a frequent intercourse – as with S. Harford occasionally – but oftener with Sukey H. Thomas Clap, a worthy young man, assistant in the business in Corn Street, always dined with us.

1782

1st mo. 2nd. A rumour spread that a vessel in which Edith Lovell had embarked from Cork was lost. This report was soon confirmed. In the same vessel was Joseph Sparrow, a young man engaged to M. Davies, to whom he was, in this visit to be united. It was said he had taken his place in another ship, but changed it to accompany E.L. & that he refused to leave her when

she could not be prevailed on to quit the vessel & join those who were saved by going into the boat. This event engaged general attention & compassion.^{bb}

6th. Dined at T. Rutters with T. Waring – an excellent minister of the right sort.

Feb 11th. Spent an afternoon & even alone with A. Fry, in which time we entered so deeply into conversation & memory furnished us with so many interesting scenes at the commencement of our acquaintance that time stole imperceptibly away, & we found ourselves together at a much later hour than we intended.

21st. Paid a morning visit to a distant relation on behalf of an old servant of her great aunt who was my grandmother. This poor woman had been many years a faithful servant, was now in a state of great suffering, unable to help herself. She had, some years before, a cancer taken from her breast, & had since been nearly supported by our family; but some of the contributors being dead, & others being incapable of continuing the subscription was the reason of my present application to a person in very different circumstances. Yet such was her behaviour on this occasion, that I left her with a determination never to apply to her again. In my way home, many were my reflections on the subject.

March 12th. Present at the marriage of George Bush with Betsy Denham. I had been at her mother's marriage & conversed with her great-great-grandfather.

April. Receiving a letter from J. Dallaway the beginning of this month of the increased illness of his afflicted wife, with a wish expressed of seeing us, I determined, my sister being unable, to pay her a visit. I left home on the 8th & was met by her son & little daughter & conducted to Stroud by tea-time, where I found my friend better than I expected. I had great satisfaction in having accepted her invitation. Her resignation & piety were truly exemplary, & supported her under the most excruciating pains, & animated her to press forward to the glorious prize she had in view. On the morning I was to leave Stroud I went to my friend's chamber to take a last farewell. I was almost wholly silent. She recommended her dear little girl to my sister's & my affectionate attention, requesting that at the age of 12 she might be placed at a school at Bristol under our care. She sent her love to my sister expressing a hope that if she should never again see her here, they should meet in a better world. I hastened to my own chamber & found relief in tears. After breakfast J.D. saw me seated in a Bath coach. Whilst I was at

^{bb} For a full account of this shipwreck see Friend's Monthly Magazine. Vol {?} p {?} where it is related by William Ball.

Stroud I had received letters from my brother C. informing me he had been sent for to London by Edmund Burke with whose son he was appointed joint deputy Pay Master. As they had just taken a house in Staffordshire & become reconciled to a residence there, perhaps this unexpected change was no real cause of joy. Yet I could not help being pleased on the occasion. They had commodious apartments in Chelsea College. Soon after my return we all dined at A. Goldney's & I paid a visit to H. Rutter in her chamber. She had a pretty little sensible looking child whom they called Rachel, whom I loved from the first time I saw her.

28th. The Yearly Meeting attended by G. Boon {Bawm}, S. Spavold, John Townsend & Ruth Fellows.

May. I spent an afternoon at Whitehall with my old friend Marianna Davies, whom I found at dinner "her children like olive branches round her table." She had 10 including one of her husband's by a former marriage. She said she looked on them as their riches. The next day my brother set out for London. In his absence, we spent a day at Frenchay, & called at Sam Lloyd's who was removed there.

June. Influenza prevailed throughout the nation I partook of its effects.

In this month I set out for Plymouth with M. Lloyd, her mother & Sam Bawden; leaving home with great regret. Myself & S.B. staid two days at Wellington agreeably with E. Berry, from whence we went on to J. Sanders' at Exeter to sleep, & on the following day got to Plymouth at 6 pm. I found my friend M. Fox very well, but the rest of the family complaining. Here I staid till 11th of July, receiving many marks of the most friendly regard. Whilst I was there, they received a visit from W^m & Catherine Philips, whose lively conversation was truly enjoyable; besides which, she was many times excellently engaged in meetings.

Before we set out for Falmouth, I visited my Plymouth friends generally, & many agreeable hours I spent with E. Fox at her mother's, whose lively conversation, at her advanced period of life made her a very entertaining companion.

July 11th. Set out with E.F. & Lydia Fox for Falmouth. We had the mortification when we got there of finding that, for want of a little inquiry, we had passed a meeting where C. Philips was present. At G. C. Fox's we were treated with that friendly attention which never fails to please; but nothing was to me so interesting as the manner in which, when alone with our agreeable friend C. Fox, we were entertained by her; for she had not only a chosen collection of manuscripts, but also a fund of conversation of that kind for which I had a high relish. One evening we were driven to Pengeric, a pretty place belonging to G. C. Fox & family. It being fine, we had a beautiful view of the sea & a delightful drive home. After we had been about

a fortnight at Falmouth we went to Redruth. In our way thither we dined at Peter Price's at Penryn, where I called to see M. Richards formerly Patty Loscomb. The pleasure of meeting seemed mutual. I think our last interview was in the year 1759, when we came from London together in a party. We were then united in the pursuit of vanity. The various vicissitudes which naturally occur in so long an interval, appeared to have greatly altered the manner, views, as well as the persons of both, & had rendered her far more pleasing than at that giddy period. We reached Redruth by supper time & observed with concern our valuable friend C. Philips's increased infirmities. Here we spend one week in the most agreeable manner, it being impossible it should be otherwise under the roof of persons so distinguished by natural & acquired endowments ennobled by religion.

W^m P.'s house^{cc} was the only good one I saw in the place & was built by himself. He was generally respected, & though beloved, he was absolute in his family. The strength of his judgment gave him a sort of right to be "stiff in opinion" as he was seldom in the wrong. The disposition of his wife, I have thought, since I have been acquainted with her, has generally been mistaken; & that this was owing to her look & manner & the distance with which many treated her. I once entertained a similar opinion, which determined me to avoid much intercourse with her. But when she exerted herself to serve me without appearing in it, it so powerfully operated in her favour that it impressed my mind with lively sensations of gratitude, & I afterwards sought as much as I before avoided her company. She has ever treated me with the greatest affability, & I always found a return of freedom most agreeable to her. I was therefore in this visit confirmed in an opinion that those little petulancies to which she sometimes gave way were more the effect of irritability of nerves than of a bad temper. She was an excellent wife, to the only man perhaps, suitable for her. To the poor she was a bountiful benefactor. A liberal, as well as prudent, use of the wealth committed to her charge, was one of her peculiar excellencies. Though she was apt, like Martha, to be encumbered with many things, yet may it with great truth be said that Mary's part was not forgotten, for in her both characters were united; & however active or particular she might be in her house, she cheerfully left it all when duty called. Her abilities, all were willing to allow. To me they appeared to be of the feminine kind – rather brilliant than deep – easily prejudiced & led by those to whom she was attached.

^{cc} bought of him or his ex{ecu}tors by William Davy a large successful mining proprietor, (uncle of John Paull of Tavistock) who continued to lend Friends the room in which they met until they could build a meeting house {note by Theodore Naish?}.

During the time of our stay we were on two or three parties with Rich^d Philips, who also entertained us with his collection of pictures, fossils, &c.; but the highest of my enjoyment was in the conversation of the Master & Mistress of the house; & I believe the time spent under their hospitable roof will ever be remembered with pleasure. Our friend C. Fox joined us the last few days, with whom we returned to Falmouth. Anna & Charlotte Fox afterwards accompanied me to Looe, where we spent two days, attending the two meetings on First day, where J. Binns was excellently engaged. From Looe I went to Plymouth. One afternoon there, we spent very agreeably at Charles Fox's, who, lately returned from London, entertained us with a lively account of some of the things he had seen there.

August 14th. J. Fox took me to Exeter where I staid one day. Our old friend Codrington spent both evenings with us at J. Sanders's in the church-yard.

The next morning I went in the stage as far as Bridgewater to Joseph Ball's where I staid a day or two very agreeably & where J. Waring met & conveyed me home in a Whiskey. I found L. H[awksworth] in Horfield Lane with my sister – the child well & weaned finally this night. Dr. & M. Dimsdale were at their uncle Whiteheads. She was our frequent & agreeable visitor.

September 8th. At L. Hawksworth's in the evening, waiting the arrival of W. & C. Philips, L.H. being from home. It gave me uncommon pleasure to see them. The next morning I went to Breakfast with them & they spent one day with us & no other company & we returned with them to spend the evening. The following day was married at Fryar's, Sally Denham to Wilcox Phelps of Dublin. C.P. preached. Dined at the widow Peters' with our friends, & I spent the even with them, which was previous to their setting out for the Circular Meeting.

15th. We went to Corn Street & staid till the 30th on acct. of J. & S. Tuckett's being from home. S. Stevenson & her mother dined with us there.

October 1st. Spent the evening with C. Philips at L.H's on her return from the circular Meeting. Shurmer B[ath] was there trying the effect of electricity on C.P. who had an increasing stiffness in her joints. In a day or two we dined there when the introduction of an unpleasant subject & an unpleasant visitor interrupted our enjoyment.

In a few days after, at our request, Shurmer Bath's eldest daughter, Mary, came to tea, & we were much pleased with her, she was by a former wife. The second was a first cousin of the first, & by her he had two children, daughters.

Their manner of living was very retired, but he was much among his friends & his company sought after, his conversation being generally entertaining.

8th. At Frenchay meeting, where was a wedding at which C.P. preached.

12th. W^m & C.P. dined with us. After the [unpleasant] subject before alluded to, being introduced, my brother T. shone on the occasion. I spent the evening with them at L.H.'s, & the next day, my sister went with them to Claverham, from whence C.P. did not return to Bristol. In a few days went with my brother & sister to see a house on Michael's Hill where he wished to remove. In consequence I was desired to go to E. Bush's at Thornbury, where I staid to dine. In November we had a visit from our worthy friend J. Dallaway whose suffering wife was still living.

29th. Our little Esther's birthday, we removed to Michael's Hill.

December 25th. J. Waring & Sukey Harford spent with us.

1783

January 6th. Dined at J. Fry's with M. Arch.

13th. M. Palmer, Milasent & Ann Nash at tea. M.P. was a young woman who had long been under the care of E. Dickenson, with whom she now lived, & was considered accomplished – to which was added the most useful attainments. Her judgment appeared more solid than in most of her age her understanding of the useful kind, & she seemed to possess much natural rectitude. She constantly attended our meetings, & by her conduct it appeared that she was governed by a sense of piety, which gained her general esteem, though her person & manner had not those engaging attractions often attendant on youth. M. & A. Nash so much resembled their young friend both in size & dress, as to give them the appearance of sisters. Misfortunes from their very childhood had taught them the value of that happiness they enjoyed in their quiet retreat which had been mercifully provided for them when, in a full career of vanity & dissipation, they seemed hastening to their ruin. They were orphans, placed by the will of their mother under the care of a guardian who neglected their education & exposed them to very improper company. He kept them without money & would give no account of their fortunes. By seeming accident they met M.P. in the park & having been schoolfellows renewed their acquaintance. They were thus introduced to E. Dickenson who, by the assistance of a humane neighbour who was bred to the law, undertook their cause, soon got them from their guardian, & placed them in a pretty little house on Michael's Hill, securing them some thousands, tho' not so much as was their due. By their conduct it appears they are favoured with Providential care & direction. They both were constant attenders of our meetings.

In February my sister was so poorly that we really joined the doctor in a fear that it would prove a consumption at last. L. Hawksworth was one of her

kind sympathizing friends on the occasion. In a short time some amendment took place.

21st. We received an account of the happy change of our amiable friend M. Dallaway, in a short affecting letter from her husband in which he says "She was sensible to the last moment, & for some hours free from agonizing pain; still continuing in the most exemplary patience & resignation, uttered in strains of piety almost beyond the measure of humanity. It was her own desire I should write to you as soon as possible, to assure you of her friendship both in life & at the important hour of death." After these particulars, to lament her deliverance would have been inexcusable; though the tender tribute of a tear could not be withheld. I felt truly thankful for her happiness.

March 25th. Changed servants, the nursemaid going to be married to Thomas Clap.

May 7th. My sister quitted her chamber where she had long been confined. The doctor recommended Cheltenham, as the only probable means of her recovery.

10th The Yearly Meeting. C. Philips, Betty Gibson, Robt. Valentine, John Pemberton,⁶⁵ & William Matthews attended. After 3rd days meeting, I dined with a large company, at T. Rutter's, from whence I went home to my sister with whom I found H. Rogers & G. C. Fox. At the parting meeting we were kept late by C. Philips who was truly excellent. J. Allen of Liskeard dined with us, & Anna Fox at tea.

6th day, an affecting subject unavoidably engaged our attention as two men passed to be hung. L.H. & C. Philips drank tea with us. C.P. staid over first-day, when she again preached both morn & even. John Pemberton at tea. The next day we had a very long meeting at which before the men & women parted, the queries were read.

31st. John Pemberton paid us a visit & showed us some excellent letters he had received from America.

June. About this time Silvanus Bevan, who married M. Fox of Wadge Bridge, was at the Wells in a decline. His wife, near her confinement, was with him; her sister also.

9th. My sister had a visit from T. Rutter, & though he addressed her encouragingly & consolitorily, yet it was in a manner respecting her illness which affected & exercised my mind.

19th. After dinner set out for Cheltenham, lodged at Newport, & the next day reached the end of our journey. Whilst at Cheltenham we made some acquaintance with a young man, Thos. Rich, settled as a watchmaker since

our being last here – a member of our society. Elijah Waring of Witney was here for his health. He appeared to be sensible but very reserved. John Waring came to pay us a visit, with whom my brother went to Bristol & returned in a few days.

Aug 1st. H. Hughes the clergyman of the place drank tea with us.

4th. We called to see a gentleman of the name of Lawrence who introduced us to a daughter of the late Dr. Doddridge.

7th arrived Captain Walker whom we had never seen before; yet as a person paying his addresses to Harriet Ludlow, we were interested about. He was to go one more voyage as Captain of an Indiaman before their union.

9th we left Cheltenham, & got home to dine the next day. In the cause of this month I went to Stoke; James Fox called the 2nd of September & seemed ill. In a few days my brother went to Frome Circular Meeting. About this time Sally Ball was much with us. Every affectionate sentiment, every good wish that kindness could suggest, seemed awakened by this interesting young woman, whose feelings appeared too tender for “this inclement clime of human life.”

The latter end of this month (September) Nicalas Waln⁶⁶ from America was in Bristol – an excellent minister & a sensible man.

Oct. 3rd. At meeting, from whence was buried Thomas Jones.

8th. In my way home from town I was given a letter from my brother & sister Champion, but which I learnt that he intended in a few months to put into execution a plan he had long formed of going to America; as by the death of the Marquis of Rockingham last year, he had been obliged to resign his place. This letter opened a wound that had never been healed, at the thoughts of an event which I considered as a final separation in this world; but I strove not to give way to unavailing regrets, desiring not to be of the number of those who refuse to be comforted – thus losing the benefit of the blessings left.

13th. Peace was proclaimed with America. I dined at J. Netford’s with M. Fox, who left Bristol in a day or two.

23rd. With my sister & child to A. Goldney’s. On our return, J. Waring⁶⁷ brought his father to see us.

26th. Attended the burial of Mary the wife of Sam^l Nottingham from his house at Kingsdown. Her husband followed the corpse & sat through the meeting, which he had seldom been able to do. T. Rutter was excellently engaged.

November. In this month I paid a visit to Hannah Waring, at her sister H[awksworth]'s. She had been long ill, appeared emaciated & near her end. Unable to lie down, she was supported by pillows. The particulars of this visit are in a separate book. I left her with a mind solemnly affected. Such an interview I did not expect, but hoped the impression it made might remain. At such seasons, how insignificant do all things in this short life appear

“In what a land of shadows do we live!

“How solid all when time shall be no more!”

December 1st. After drinking tea at J. Fry's, I supped in a large company at M. Cowles's – D. Darby, Ann Summerland, Joseph Ball, his youngest daughter (Hannah) & Priscilla Gurney⁶⁸ &c. Before supper a subject was canvassed, I thought, with too little charity. J. Ball, after a silence, dropped a few judicious remarks by way of caution, desiring that we might be so enabled to steer the middle path that on the one hand intemperate zeal, & on the other lukewarmness might be avoided. H. Ball was a fine young girl, & by most, considered pretty. P. H. Gurney had been celebrated for a countenance which was as delicate as it was beautiful, & became the more pleasing from a close observation. There was something in it altogether resembling the angelic. It was the index of a mind devoted to religion. Soon after Betsy & H. Green drank tea with us. These young women lived with their father, & when in a career of vanity, the Lord was pleased to meet them & turn their faces zionward.

25th. Hannah Waring died.

1784

January 2nd. Sally Young brought Joseph Rickman to tea, who preached.

28th. We had the comfort of hearing that H. Lloyd was released from a miserable life by means of a mortification. Such had been the nature of her disorder that, had she lived in the last century, it is probable some might have thought her bewitched.

29th. I informed S. Notingham of her removal (he had not been so well again) thinking it might be a satisfaction to him, as he knew her distressing case. He begged me with affecting earnestness, that if it should please Providence to release him, not to grieve for him.

March. S. Young came to tea & brought with her a correspondence (on one side) of two distinguished characters (L.H. & E.D.). These letters were truly interesting, but the attachment seemed too much of a nature inconsistent with beings “whose superior [minds] are due only to the Fountain of excellence.” If, in an attachment, we exceed the holy limits, we must experience disappointment written on our sanguine expectations, & we shall

perhaps be apt to accuse one another of instability, when all we suffer is the effect of our own conduct. Friendships, as well as other enjoyments, must be imperfect in an imperfect state; yet as it makes the greatest part of our happiness on earth, I have no doubt it will make a part of our enjoyments in Heaven, if we are qualified to join "the spirits of the just made perfect."

14th. We spent most agreeably with our friend L. H[awksworth]. Soon after she was taken ill. Her disorder proved a putrid fever, & for some days the event was doubtful; but it pleased infinite wisdom to shortly give her friends hopes of her recovery.

May 4th. I visited her in her sick chamber. She looked bloated & ill, but received me with much affection; & after giving me a pathetic account of her illness, addressed me in the language of encouragement. The uncommon earnestness of her manner, with the unusual agitation that accompanied all she said or did, made me fearful of her being exhausted, as she appeared to have so little strength.

9th. The Yearly Meeting. Dined at T. Rutter's with Jonathan Binns who lodged there on account of the distance of our house from the meeting; but he took tea with us on that & the following day. One day Robert Valentine spent an hour with us, & was very agreeable.

16th. Called at Edward Harford's to see Sampson Lloyd⁶⁹ & wife, & their daughter Sally. At even meeting time, my sister & I had a most satisfactory visit from Jonathan Binns, at which he preached to us separately the particulars in another book. My mind was melted into gratitude to the great author of such inestimable favours, accompanied by an ardent desire to become more worthy of them.

21st. In the evening I went to take leave of L.H[awksworth] who was going to London. The following morn she was engaged in testimony & supplication in an extraordinary manner. S. Nottingham also preached.

June 4th. Drank tea with M. Davis at Whitehall.

17th. S. Harrison^{dd} came to see us & her daughter Lydia.

27th. I dined with M. Fox at T. Rutter's, after which she went home with me & staid with my sister till supper time; of whom she took an affecting leave, seeing her in a state of health so precarious, & which induced us once more to try Cheltenham for which place we set out on the 28th reaching it the next day.

July 1st. We had a visit from M. Bishop, a person whom we had never before seen, but with whose character we had long been acquainted, & had, as well

^{dd} Daughter of W. Cookworthy see p....{above}.

as her letters, particularly admired. She was a woman of true religion, by the sacred influence of which, she had been cheered under the clouds, & sheltered in the storms of life. She dressed plain & neat, but her manner was not animated. By profession she was a methodist, & kept a school at Keynsham.

August. Thomas Pole⁷⁰ came to pay Betsy Barrett a visit, to whom she was soon to be married. He drank tea with us, & we found his conversation very interesting; & there was reason to believe that our agreeable young friend E.B. would have a good husband. The next even, John Waring came & staid two days.

17th. I went by appointment to Frog Mill⁷¹ (taking the maid & child with me) to meet my brother. C. We passed many hours together in the most friendly unreserved conversation, without mentioning the purpose of our meeting, which was to part – probably for ever, in this world. But when he handed me from the carriage I was in, to that in which I was to return to Cheltenham a few miles from Frog mill where the roads parted, I felt what I cannot describe. I then indeed found it to be a parting interview, for he had told me they were to embark, in about a month, for America. Tears much relieved me, & after the first painful emotion, had subsided, I strove to turn my attention to my little innocent companion. In this disposition, & with my spirits in a very tender state, I returned to my brother & sister. T. The next morning we left Cheltenham & got to Stroud about 8 o'clock, but were concerned to find our old friend J. Dallaway in a state of health that wholly unfitted him from enjoyment. His "sun of happiness in this world seemed to be set." We staid with him a week. On the 26th we went on to Bristol. Little Patty D., though only 10 years old, remembered her excellent mother with feelings so tender that at the mention of her name, the tears would instantly stray down her cheeks. Her father could not be prevailed on to part with her, or we would have brought her home with us.

September 16th. The Quarterly Meeting held in Bristol.

October 2nd. P. H. Gurney paid us a visit in the morning. In the event Sam^l Nottingham sat with us two hours conversing in the most lively, interesting manner. Such visits he now often paid us. Emerged from a state of deep depression, He seemed raised above himself. Being now mercifully restored to health & spirits. His animated countenance corresponded with the liveliness of his conversation. His favourite subject was Judge Hale.

10th. In the morning I received a letter from my brother C. on board ship, informing me they were all well but sick. This was a great satisfaction to me, particularly as poor Hetty had been very ill.

18th. We dined at M. Dimsdale's. She was now a widow & at lodgings at Clifton with her little daughter, intending to reside at Bristol as soon as she should meet with a house.

20th. At Alderman Dean's about M. Griffith's affairs who, whilst we were at Cheltenham, was happily released. I had loved her as long as I would remember, & she was the person about whom I had visited my rich cousin (see p). About this time Patience Brereton [?Brayton] was at Bristol. Both in her private & public character, her mind seemed to be clothed with love.

Met Rebecca Scudamore in the street, who accepted my offered arm, giving me an opportunity of a little of her conversation.

Nov 2nd. M. Dimsdale & Ann dined with us. S. Nottingham called to bid us farewell on going to Poole.

21st. The frost remarkably severe.

30th. In the afternoon R. Follows, A. Byrd, & H.S. visited us.

Dec 2nd. Cousin Dimsdale introduced Betsy West, a deserving young woman who was to be governess to little Ann. She appeared low, which was to be accounted for from her having just parted with a mother by whom she was tenderly brought up. But as necessity had obliged her to part with this her only daughter, she was pleased to have her placed in so respectable a family.

In the foregoing year John Waring & Sukey Harford were our very frequent visitors – likewise Shurmer Bath. I sometimes went to S. Harford's at Stoke, A. Goldney's at Clifton, often, &c, as usual. Time is indeed rapid in its flight "Year after year it steals till all are fled."

1785

First Month. The beginning of this month confined by snow.

16th. From meeting was buried Elizabeth Selfe, followed by 6 children – 3 infants at home, too young to attend the mournful procession. Ruth Fellows preached & addressed the mourners, "Sorrow not as those without hope" &c L. H[awksworth] & T. R[utter] also preached.

2nd mo. 2nd. Received letters from my brother C. with an account of their arrival in America. I went with H. Bush to communicate this agreeable news to M. Lloyd & her mother. Drank tea at John S. Harford's,⁷² in whose conversation we remarked an attachment to our society. He had married a daughter of Abraham Grey's – a pleasing amicable, young woman.

14th. In the morning S. Emlen came to see us. He behaved with the affection of a long absent brother, expressing much satisfaction that we were favoured to meet again. After a very interesting hour spent in conversation, he left us

delighted with his visit. Such visits he twice repeated in the course of the week.

20th. After meeting I went with S. Emlen to dine at J. Beck's. He had preached in an interesting manner in the morning, addressing "many as his old & beloved friends, querying of some what use they had made of the time of separation, reminding others that their shadows were lengthening & their sun declining, that riches could not avert calamity or exclude the scenes of varied woe" &c. The following 3rd day, his son, himself, & Dr. L[udlow] dined with us. This son was the youngest of two children born at Bristol, & was now about 18 years old. The eldest had died soon after they left England, of which the woman who nursed him had at the time a remarkable impression.

3rd mo. 1st. After the close of a meeting in which S.C. had been engaged in the line of consolation, my brother T. & myself accompanied him & his son to the spot in which the remains of his valuable wife were interred. After a solemn silence he addressed his son on the subject of his deceased mother's excellencies, recommending her example to him, adding, "She was indeed a virtuous woman & a crown to her husband. I remember, my son, her prayers for thee, that thou might'st rather be taken in innocence than live to be guilty." We afterwards went to see Nurse Marsden, whom we found old, feeble & appearing to be much neglected. From her, he visited S. Gound, to whom he said a little on the benefit of sufferings. M. & A. Nash were present. On taking leave he addressed them in a manner very applicable to their situation, though strangers to them; as he used the words, "When thy father & mother forsake thee" &c. He observed that my sister & myself had been thus favoured. My mind was melted by gratitude, which produced tears of inexpressible comfort. Surely it is only such things, as these that afford real enjoyment. From thence we went to dine at Dr. Ludlow's. In the course of conversation there, he related some particulars of the parting scene between him & his beloved Betsy, who had been known to & valued by most of the company, the Doctor having attended her in her last illness. After dinner I rode with S.E. to J.H.'s. This little interval afforded opportunity of conversing on some affecting trials we had each met with since our separation. I left him at J.H.'s & returned home to my sister, whose incapacity of joining in this day's engagements was the only pall to my enjoyment. She would not admit of my giving up the Society of our friend to bear her company. Often he paid her kind sympathizing visits.

From meeting were interred the remains of a young man from Devizes at which J.E. preached. He accompanied me home & spent an hour in my sister's chamber, where we had some of that sort of conversation which leaves a sweet savour on the mind. I hope ever to remember for my humiliation as well as encouragement, that our friend said in one of his little

Testimonies, "I have undoubted assurance that the same mercy which has further to followed, will never forsake you until it has safely landed you beyond this state of trial."

6th. At both meetings Nicalas Waln & S. Emlen preached. I dined with the latter at Edward Astis.

8th. L. H[awksworth] & S.E. came to see us. The latter had something to offer to us all.

14th. F. Pinnock from Devizes came to see us. With real concern we found she had still trials to encounter.

16th. Sarah Tregelles & M. Fox to spend the day.

20th. Dined with S.E. at Dr. T. Adams'. At the afternoon meeting he was affecting engaged, and, joining me after, he added (for it seemed connected with what he before delivered) "Tho' the labour of the olive be in vain, & there be no herd in the stall" &c. it is no cause, dear Sally, that thou should'st not inherit enduring substance." Comfortably meditating on this in my way home, I met a strayed child who detained me long, as had often on similar occasions been the case: these poor little deserters having ever had a claim on my compassion.

(Visits from Shurmer B. & S. Nottingham this month omitted to be mentioned.)

4th mo. 3rd. Dined after meeting with S.E. at George Napper's, after which he set out for Worcester.

13th. Saw a balloon go up. It ascended with great rapidity & was soon, with a man in it, out of sight. It fell nr. Chippenham. About this time John Tuckett went to Ireland to solicit the hand of Jane Caroline Helton, which gave us much pleasure. I received a very satisfactory letter from Caroline.

24th. The Yearly Meeting. In the morning preached George Dilwyn,⁷³ & such a man & such a minister united, is seldom to be met with. His language was persuasive, his manners gentle – a son of consolation – his person agreeable, & both by nature & education, a gentleman – A native of America, "not early trained to the mortifications of our Society," he & his agreeable wife embraced them on principle. W^m Matthews from America was another who attended & drank tea with G.D. & S.E. at Dr. T. Adams's, & afterwards went home to my sister.

5th month 8th. I went in town after breakfast to take leave of S. Emlen & found him just going to us. I therefore went back in the carriage with him. He staid with us a short time, but in the most affectionate manner expressed an earnest desire for our preservation – took a solemn leave, recommending us to the blessing of God, & in bidding us farewell, tears bore witness to his

regard, & again raised the feelings he had often been instrumental in reviving, & permitted a hope that if we never again met in this “land of shadows,” we might meet in that City none of whose inhabitants know either sickness or sorrow.

26th. Jonathan Binns⁷⁴ called to see us.

29th. He, with his daughter Anna, & S. Dyer dined with us.

30th. In the morning at Mo Mts. In the afternoon at tea, J. Binns, H. Rutter, Edwd Hatton, & a sweet spirited man, his companion. After the tea things were removed, a silence ensued, & each had something suitable to say. Betsy West entered before Edwd. H. closed, he addressed her hoping she had, with Mary, chosen the better part, which, if she was faithful, would never be taken from her – that if she was preserved in love to her Lord, He would be her support under all her trial, & finally she would be admitted to eat of the “Tree of life which stands in the midst of the Paradise of God.” J. Binns & his daughter went next day to Wales.

6th month 6th. Travelled the old road to Cheltenham. It was the only place we ever went to, & we found my sister always relieved by the waters’. We found the widow, Ash, her daughter, & brother Gregory at Cheltenham, with whom we exchanged visits.

20th. John Gough attended the afternoon meeting, at which he preached excellently, & after it drank tea with us. He was agreeable in conversation, & preached very satisfactorily – his subject Zacharias & Elizabeth. My brother & T. Rich went with him the next day to Tewksbury. The widow Lawrence took tea with us, whom I accompanied into town. In our way she stopped at the door of a house where a person of the name of Boston lived who had a cancer in his cheek which had made dreadful ravages in his face. She entered, inviting me to follow her. I stood irresolute; nature recoiled; I dreaded witnessing such sufferings; but on his inviting me, I no longer hesitated. As soon as we were seated, he spoke of his disorder & of the goodness of God in favouring his mind with his presence – in preserving him from murmurings & enabling him to bear with resignation the dreadful pains he had to endure. All, he said, was in mercy, & he was convinced it was permitted for his good; as he was enabled to be at the feet of Jesus, contemplating all he had suffered for us; though we were unprofitable servants, he had no doubt but, at the solemn conclusion, he should be mercifully received by Him; adding that tho’ looking forwards with joy to the hour of his dissolution, he was preserved even from wishing for it, but left it all in the hands of unerring Wisdom, that had, long before this affliction, weaned him from the world. He then spoke of its riches, its vanities & follies as things injurious to our advancement in piety – said he had long remembered my sister & me, & hoped we had known the

preserving Power, which he desired might be with us. During this awful scene I felt my mind deeply affected, & thought it was good for me to be here. Ardently did I wish that the sons & daughters of dissipation, assembled at this place, could feel the comfort this house of mourning afforded. More profitable far would they find it than their houses of mirth which they so often enter, yet so seldom enjoy. But though I experienced, at this season, inexpressible peace, nature had feelings hard to bear, I left the house in an oppressed state. My heart seemed too large for its prison, & hastening to my friend Ash's lodgings (who were from home) I found relief by tears, & went home with a mind suited to enjoy a very comfortable evening with my brother & sister, listening to an agreeable account of his day at Tewkesbury; and, before I retire to rest, I write the particulars of the above visit, as I wish the impression imprinted on my memory being, at this moment enabled to desire to dwell near to that Power who can sanctify every affliction he permits to his dependant children.^{ee}

7 mo. 1st. My brother & sister met with an accident. As they were going to the well on horseback, the horse took fright, & after backing against Lord D's carriage, jumped forward & threw my sister at some distance. She was immediately put into the carriage, & I was surprised at their speedy return; but she received no material injury, though it was thought better she should loose a little blood.

20th. We left Cheltenham, with a sort of presentiment in my mind that we should visit it no more. At Newport we were met by my brother & Sam Bawden, but fatigue & want of spirits precluded enjoyments. A failure of pleasure when most is to be expected is affecting to a feeling mind, & to me convincing that happiness little depends on outward events. A few days after our return I took the child in town & called with her at J. Fry's from whence she strayed, & on my leaving the house, she was no where to be found. She was met with strolling up the Pithay & on being asked where she was going, said to "Pappa," which was one of the few sentences she was able to say. What I felt till she was found it would be in vain to attempt to describe.

8 mo. 1st. I called to take leave of L. H[awksworth] on her going into Cornwall. Two couples married – one of them W^m Gayner & Ann Ogborn.

12th. Buried from the Fryars Nancy Dodshon. S. Notingham was excellent in the meeting – T. Rutter at the grave.

^{ee} In connexion with the emphatic way in which S. Champion here expresses herself, it may be well to mention that, about 26 years afterwards, she was herself removed by the same complaint. {J.F.}

18th. To Cote (a place lately purchased by Dr. Ludlow to settle his daughter on her marriage) to visit Harriet & her mother, with whom was Lady Austin, a celebrated character in some respects. About this time arrived an account of the sudden removal of W^m Philips on his return from the Circular Meeting in Cornwall. He lived only a few hours after his seizure. In a letter of L. Hawksworth's on the occasion she says – "It was a period to which he often looked forward, & with the vigilance & piety of a faithful servant, was making preparation for; & being favoured in the manner he wished with a speedy translation out of time, it was evident that death made his approaches unperceived, & therefore to him was robbed of every terror.

28th. First day evening, W. Buller called, & the next day came to lodge. He seemed desirous of renewing his acquaintance with T. Rutter, J. Fry &c.

1st September. Arrived Sam^l Hanbury, a fine youth very tall of his age, & much resembling his amiable mother, who died when he was about 2 years old.

11th. Sarah Crawley of Herts in town, a good sound preacher, & a valuable woman.

16th. In the evening, J. W[aring] with us, we received a summons from J. Tuckett, who had just brought home his bride. My brother T. & myself hastened to welcome them, being pleased with his choice. Second day, we spent with her, & with pleasure saw her at the head of her table.

10th mo. 2nd. Dined with us W^m Roach of America & his son, S. Nottingham & others. W.R. was of Nantucket, America, from whence he was removed in consequence of the late calamitous war, & was now in England in the subject of the Fishery business. His aspect, as well as stature, was above the common. He appeared beyond middle age. His conversation was very interesting & his attention pleasing. He was universally well received & respected, and, as a quaker, was universally consistent.

21st. J. Selfe was buried from Fryar's in Redcliffe pit. I attended, an uninvited guest. Called on the widow Berry who wanted to speak to me about her poor daughter [Pinnock]. Some comfortable visits from Saml. Nottingham, this month. An exchange of visits with M. Dimsdale, whom we found our very agreeable neighbour. J. Waring often & C. Tuckett – besides some others not named.

11th month 2nd. Richd. Philips drank tea with us.

14th. R. Wright & M. Ruth paid us a tea visit; A. Lury & H. Stevenson with them. S. Harford & her two daughters this day dined with us, & no choosing to be present, took tea upstairs, except Sukey who sat with us.

24th. I spent the day at Bath with my friend M. Fox & her daughter Lydia, who were at lodgings in Abby Street, with whom I passed an agreeable day.

Dec 6th. M. & L. Fox to spend the day. My sister taken ill, & the next day was unable to rise. F. P[innock] after dinner. Her business in Bristol about her husband & children, about whose future maintenance she was anxiously concerned. Her health & spirits seemed unequal to the difficulties she had to encounter, yet she had nothing to reproach herself with.

17th. I again went to Bath with the agreeable P. H. G[urney]. I got to M. Fox's lodgings by tea time; went to meeting next day twice. At both W^m Matthews preached. P.H.G. took tea with us & we walked home with her after eveng. Meeting. The next day I returned home with J. Waring.

The close of a year in which I have, thankfully to acknowledge an encreasing capacity of enjoying the blessings mercifully afforded, & with greater firmness of spirits [have been] enabled to bear the little anxieties naturally recurring in a state of imperfection.

1786

1st mo. 1st. Dined with A. Goldney. 2nd. A considerable snow. Shurmer [Bath] spent the afternoon with us.

16th. I dined at J. Netford's with M. Fox & Lydia. In the company was a young lawyer lately settled at Plymth. He appeared to me agreeable & sensible his name was John Prideaux. Here to my surprise, I heard M. & L. Fox were going with him the next day, & that my brother T. had been prevailed on to accompany them.

21st. S. Beaufoy called to inform us of the marriage of her niece Sukey Rogers to – Bradford of Frenchay.

22nd. From the morning meeting were laid in Fryar's yard the remains of Hannah, wife of John Plant Fry, and daughter of the late Andrew Drury. T. Rutter was much favoured in a short Testimony. He began by saying that there was "a fellowship which neither time nor mortality could dissolve – a communion with the spirits of the just made perfect, through the operation of the good spirit proceeding from the Father & the Son." He told us that we were attending the remains of one who had, in early life, received & given up to divine visitation. There he spoke to a state which he had felt but not given up to such impressions & who were therefore strangers to that peace experienced by those who were in some measure capable of fellowship with the spirits of the just made perfect.

29th. Timothy Bevington excellent on the subject of humility. M. Routh informed the meeting of a concern herself & R. Wright had to visit families.

30th. T. Beezly & M. Cowles declared their intention of marriage at the mo. Mtg. L. Hawksworth took a sort of leave of the youth, for whom, she said, she had been deeply exercised both day & night.

2 mo. 1st. Spent mostly in my sister's chamber, who seemed now threatened with a complaint on her lungs. My spirits sank at the prospect, yet I felt a degree of comfortable support Her patience & resignation strengthened mine. At noon I received a letter from our afflicted friend J. Dallaway, who seemed by slow degrees & under much suffering advancing to the end of all his trials. It appeared to me that almost all the friends of my youth were either gone or hastening to the end of their earthly race – all those I loved, I trust, fitted for Heaven. O that I may be prepared to meet them there, “when a few afflicting days are over.” This day completes my 44th year – Rapid have they fled, & many marked with sorrow. Blessed be the Hand which heals the wounds of affliction.

20th. Dr. Till Adams, who had been some days ill, was removed about noon.^{ff} I spent this day at J. Lury's with M. Routh & R. Wright, Saml. Nottingham, who now lived there, was at home.

Writing the above at the close of the day, I retired to rest full of the events of it, particularly of Doctr. T. A.'s death, which leads to an earnest desire that these repeated warnings may excite to diligence that I may be enabled to “set my house in order, lest I die.”

26th. I attended the remains of Doctr. T. Adams to Fryar's meeting. T. Bevington first delivered an excellent discourse, after which T. Waring stood a long time, and, in a lively manner, dwelt on the happiness of a redeemed spirit – those who, with the Apostle, could say at the solemn close, “I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course &c. “T. Rutter made some suitable remarks on human viscissitudes, & on the necessity of preparation for the solemn change.

I dined at E. & H. Green's, where was P. H. Gurney. Their father had, in the 11th month 1785, fallen down at the coach door into which he had just seated his daughter, who was going to Sally Ball's marriage, & instantly expired.

27th. Thomas Waring drank tea with us. His conversation was consistent with a true gospel spirit, possessing that charity & benevolence which loses all distinction of names. He gave us an account of a paralytic seizure he had some time before, which began in one eye, as he was riding to a meeting, yet he had no idea of what ailed him & had to deliver many weighty truths. He

^{ff} Dr. Till Adams died young. His death was felt as a great loss by his fellow citizens. Two memorial poems on the occasion are mentioned in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books Vol 1 p. 3. [J.F.]

afterwards, grew worse, but recovered by slow degrees to the state he is now in, which is feeble & often depressed in spirits.

3rd Month. Intense cold. R. Wright & M. Routh came to pay the family visit. After R.W. said a little on superfluity of words, M.R. began on the advantage of retirement of mind, which was recommended by our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ who often led his followers into caves, deserts, & gardens apart. Amongst other parts of scripture, she used "Master where dwellest thou?" They afterwards visited my sister in her chamber, where they only conversed.

3rd. Doc^r. Edward Long Fox came to Bristol to see if it was eligible for him to settle here.

13th. P. H. Gurney at tea at our house.

22nd. Doc^r. Fox who was returned a second time & now candidate for the Infirmary. J. Appleton (who was engaged to H. Bell at Bridgewater) to dinner, before which we heard of the exit of G. Goldney, he having departed in peace, the preceding night at Clifton. He told a friend who visited him a short time before, that he hoped he had acted up to the light & knowledge afforded him, tho' it might not be in equal degree with some others. At the same time, he expressed that his prospect beyond the grave was comfortable. In a few days I went to see his sister, whose mind seemed softened, but not under the pressure of grief. She expressed satisfaction in the hope that her brother was gone well. He had entered his 82nd year.

28th. My brother read at breakfast some passages of the life of Bishop Cranmer which much affected my mind. At meeting T.R. on these words, "The briars & thorns of this world sprang up & choked the good seed." The cares & perplexities of this world are truly to some as briars & thorns – even to a few who sometimes do ardently desire to be delivered from them.

4th month 1st. Visited a poor old basket-woman, about whom we had long been interested. I found her in a state in which the most affluent might desire to be, though lying on shavings & covered in rags; but these were mended as much as was possible, & she was clean, comfortable, & resigned – having nothing before her but a happy eternity. As soon as she was sensible I was near her, she grasped my hand, & expressed herself thankful for my coming, & for the kindness of the family. She said she wanted nothing to eat; for it seemed as if the Lord fed her in her slumbers, which were inexpressibly comfortable. She said she knew not if this sickness was for death, but she had sent for me, supposing it was, to tell me she was going to Heaven. Her daughter stood by her, disabled by natural infirmities from labour. Her mother said she was her only remaining care, but she asked no favours for her. I took my leave, confirmed in the opinion that real happiness is little dependent on outward circumstances. This poor woman's trials were not so

near a period as she hoped; for she recovered from this illness. F. Pinnock who was come to live in Bristol, drank tea with us.

12th. We had a visit from Sam. Waring, a younger brother of J.W's, who was come to stay with him.

13th. My brother brought us an acct. of the removal of Sukey Bradford at her mother's at Frenchay, whose house she had never quitted. The transition was quick from the bridal state to the grave, & was by means of a hasty decline. She was ill when she married. She was a valuable young woman, whose complaints were thought to have been brought on by her long attendance on her sick friends. This week I received an account of a £500 legacy being left me by that great niece of my grandmother's I had visited unsuccessfully about a poor servant of hers.

4th mo. 26th. Dr. Fox brought his wife to tea. They had taken A. Goldney's house, she being gone wholly to reside at Clifton. I had often heard of the celebrated C. Brown, but had seen little of her since she became C. Fox. Her person & address were pleasing. She was very polite, & we all thought her agreeable. They had a pretty little boy (disguised by a French dress) about a year old.

30th. Dined with my good old friend A. Goldney, the last First day of her being in Castle Green. Parting with this, her favourite house, in which she said she had passed many happy days, seemed to occasion regrets. Yet, I think, I never saw her better, though in her 80th year.

5th mo. 8th. [sic] Betsy West drank tea with us, & engaged our attention on a subject very interesting to herself & very pleasing to us. Her brother had a clerk's place in the Counting House of a Turkey Merchant who was in very affluent circumstances, bore an excellent character & was a seeker after religious truths. Often did this partial brother read to him parts of his beloved sister's letter's. The piety & sensibility which appeared in them pleased him so much that he thought, if her person was as agreeable, she would make him such a companion as he wished for. To settle this point he came to Bristol, though he did not disclose the purpose of his visit. On his return he made proposals to her father & mother, whose consent he easily obtained; the hope of seeing their daughter raised from a state of dependence, which she had striven to bear with fortitude, being a cause of thankfulness to them.

6th. [sic]. My brother & J. Waring went to meet C. P[hilips] & S. H[awkesworth] who were coming to Congresbury; C.P. having been lately afflicted with a nervous, distressing disorder, for which change of air at this place, & the advice of Dr. L. were tried. Two days after, my brother went to the Welsh Yearly Meeting.

9th. Richard Ball was married to E. Green. After meeting I went into the little room to the company with A. Goldney, & then to Clifton, where I spent the day with her alone. About this time died Priscilla Lury of a putrid fever. As her end approached she took leave of her friends, thanked the doctor for this care, expressed a wish to go, & with a smile expired at 18 years of age.

14th. Yearly Meeting – much crowded. Several friends preached, & the last G. Dilwyn on spiritual worship. I dined at T. Rutter's with Ann Summerlands & D. Darby. Called after at George Napper's where were G. Dilwyn, & R. Jones, also from America, who was a good minister & a sensible, agreeable woman. She preached in the afternoon.

The next day two Friends from the North, who had walked from the Welsh Yearly Meeting, dined with us. One of them delivered a little comfortable Testimony. At meeting G. Dilwyn stood long & was on the journey of the Israelites. 3rd day. C. Philips was at meeting, & delivered a short discourse in a low, weak voice. 4th day. G.D., T.R., & others. R. Jones prayed. 5th day. Sat half an hour with C.P. at L. Hawksworth's. She appeared greatly altered; all her lively communicativeness changed into reserve & gloom. She spoke little, & that little on some trifling business she had sent to me about.

19th. R. Jones, Ann Jessop, S. Grubb, M. Prior, & L.H., at dinner. The more we saw of R. Jones the more we were pleased with her. She behaved with that sort of affability which an open temper & much travelling generally produces. They had a little meeting; but being out of the room when silence began, I was not present.

Ann Jessop appeared humble & sweet spirited, & though only 47 looked old.

20th. G. Dilwyn & W^m Hamilton dined with us. In the conversation of G.D., who was this day in a very communicative humour, was to be enjoyed the pleasing & instructive in a high degree. Betsy West (with her brother who was come to fetch her) paid us a farewell visit. Our best wishes followed her.

6th mo. 1st. J. Binns & Anna dined with us. The next day my brother went to the London Yearly Meeting.

16th. S. Nottingham sat with us a long time. His mind seemed clothed with love.

7th month. Robert Dudley & wife at tea. She appeared lively & in spirits. F. P[innock] called, whom R.D. recommended to seek dependence on Divine help under her difficulties. Soon after we received an account that Betsy Fox was coming to pay us a visit on the very day we were to have begun moving house; being obliged to quit that in which we lived for Thomas Whitehead (whose it was) to reside in; as his niece M.D. had purchased his.

13th. Dr. Ludlow called to tell us that his daughter was this morning united in marriage to Capt. Walker, who had lately returned from his last voyage. After he was gone my sister had a visit from Frd. Watson, & C.G. the mother & sister of P. H. Gurney.

14th. We went to a house lately inhabited by M. Dimsdale, to wait for M. D's leaving hers in the Fort. E. Fox staid a few days at Dr. Fox's in which time we got a little settled.

30th. C. Philips preached twice at meeting with great sweetness. My mind was much affected on her mentioning Job's infirmity, & his abhorring himself as in dust & ashes.

9th mo. 8th. Went with Betsy Fox in Castle Street to meet Emma Berry & the next day, she with E. Fox &c. set out for the Circular Meeting, at Gloucester. My brother T. went the same day.

14th. Our Quarterly Meeting. I dined at J. Fry's with E. Bevington.

20th. I spent at Clifton. (In a few days after I was so poorly as hardly to be able to go to meeting, or sit through one. In this state L.H. & her niece H. Waring spent a day with us. Continuing very unwell, I accepted an invitation from my cousin Dimsdale to join her & my aunt C. at Bath, to try the efficacy of the waters.)

21st. A day, that at the close of it, I have gratefully to commemorate as a happy one; though so low & debilitated, I was favoured with peace which seemed to flow as a river. We passed a most comfortable evening, my brother reading to us some of Richd. Hawksworth's letters.

10th mo. 1st. I went to Bath, under great oppression, & was very kindly received by my aunt & cousin D. I spent a fortnight with them in that sort of quietness which exactly suited the state of my health & spirits. One day as I was sitting in a shop in the Church yard, I espied Ann D. leading a little girl towards me. When she drew near I saw it was my dear little Esther, whose caresses affected me to tears. They came with J. & H. Waring. All dined with us & left us after an early tea.

16th. Sampson Hanbury walked to Bath, to return with me in the Bath coach, - a place I left gratefully impressed with the kindness of my amiable cousin D. with whom I had enjoyed many hours of unreserved communication.

24th Walked in Castle Green with old friend Harford. From her to the Iron Gate, once the residence of my excellent aunt R. & family (now taken by John Lury) a house, as well as friend Harford's, calculated to recall scenes which can never return.

25th. F. Pinnock at tea; in whose conduct under adversity, meanness & pride seemed equally avoided. She had removed into Dove Street.

11th month. Went again to see poor S. Beaufoy who had shown symptoms of decline, & was truly to be felt for. In a few days S. Harford took little Esther to Stoke. The distress that appeared in the dear, little creature's countenance on leaving home, left me very uncomfortable. Three days after, S.H. sent us word that the child could not get the better of her grief. On hearing this I went with her mamma to fetch her home (whom I left at J. Lloyd's). The delight my dear little Esther expressed at seeing me, & her gratitude for my fetching her, gave me uncommon pleasure. We called for my sister, which was a fresh subject of joy to the child.

E. Sanders came from Exeter on acct. of her sister Beaufoy's illness.

21st. At meeting T. Rutter was affectingly engaged to a low state; under which my mind was in a degree favoured with similar feelings to those that, in the season of youth, when the dew of Heaven & the fatness of the earth were graciously bestowed, I was sometimes refreshed with.

26th. I dined at Clifton, where I often accompanied the old gentlewoman [A. Goldney] from meeting, & often received marks of kindness.

12th mo. 1st. In the evening both pleased & profited by my brother's reading to us out of Bowdler's Essays.⁷⁵ Many years taught in the school of adversity, she knew the value of its instructions. The fortitude she recommended, she felt; experiencing this truth that "though religion cannot prevent losses & disappointments, pains & sorrows, - yet in the midst of them all, it commands, it instructs, it enables us to be happy."

17th. Abby Frank buried. The coffin was carried by 6 lads. L. Hill, Abraham Grey & T. R[utter] preached in the meeting; L. H[awksworth] at the grave. A. Frank was about 18 years of age – the daughter of T. & E. Frank. She was removed by a hasty decline.⁸⁸

21st. Went to the house in the Ford to get it prepared. F. Pinnock with me. We got it ready for my sister's reception the next night. I felt much pleased to get out of the house on Paul Street that seemed hardly a shelter from the elements.

27th. L.H. dined with us. I went home with her & spent an hour in interesting conversation.

29th. Began a family visit on 6th day.

Several visits omitted in this year's journal. F. Pinnock & her husband spent 7th day evenings with us, while my brother was at J. Waring's. Also Shurmer Bath & J. Waring's agreeable visits omitted to be noticed, though some of the most pleasing in the whole year.

⁸⁸ She was the only sister of my father Arnee Frank, & about 2 years younger. [J.F.]

In a situation full of anxiety on account of my beloved sister; she being far from well & having from her infant years engaged my tender solicitude, I lay down my pen; desiring ability to resign all her concerns, with my own, to the unerring Disposer of all events, & to remember that, -

“Patience & Resignation are the Pillars
Of human peace on earth.” Young

1787

First Month 13th. Received an account from my friend James Fox that his daughter Lydia was married the 11th to John Prideaux. This gave me great pleasure, having ever been interested in her welfare. Her mother was near lying in with her 12th child.

20th. We heard of the sudden removal by apoplexy, of our valued friend Saml. Nottingham on the 15th. Inst. at Wellingborough in Northamptonshire. Who that remembers, as I do, the many pleasing instructive hours passed in his society, can help regretting that on earth it can be no more enjoyed? Yet who that had been, as I was, a witness to his sufferings, could murmur at his removal to these celestial regions where all tears are wiped away, & the voice of affliction no more heard? A few days after, & before it was known to her that he was released, M. Dimsdale, as she was walking in her garden, where she had often been favoured with his society, it was brought to her remembrance that S.N. once said to her there, “This is a delightful place, but it is not Heaven”; after which a sort of intimation was given her, “But he is now there!”

21st. Of the same disorder died our worthy neighbour W. Needham, who was universally esteemed in life & regretted in death.

2nd mo. 2nd. In copying some of J. Nayler’s⁷⁶ expressions, I was favoured to feel them to my comfort.

In the course of this week F.P. brought Lady Braid to see us. She was a daughter of Colonel Gardner – seemed to be of an affectionate disposition, & a seeker of religious experience. The next afternoon M. D[imsdale] brought the Baroness D. to tea, who seemed to be a sensible, worthy woman. In a few days, I met the celebrated milkwoman (Ann Yearsley)⁷⁷ of Clifton at M.D.’s; but there was nothing about her that pleased me.

3 mo. 4th. After the morning meeting, I joined Joseph Fry (wanting to consult him about F.P.) & accompanied him to Fry’s in B. square, where I heard a wonderful account of animal magnetism; of which, as I know nothing, I shall only say it was a subject that had much engaged his attention in London, from whence he was lately returned, & great was the demand for his company & conversation. He left me at Dr. L.’s where I staid with his wife,

partaking of some refreshment till she went to Cote; when, finding myself too late for meeting, I sat sometime alone meditating on the past occurrences of my life, and was led to reflect on the great mercy of future events being his from us. Favoured, indeed, we are by a veil being drawn between us & those scenes in which we, & those we love, are called to act. To obtain help in the needful time is the best way to bear the calamities we are suffered to meet with, anticipating the future as little as possible.

7th. Set out full of sanguine hopes on F. P[innock]'s business, but was disappointed by the first person to whom I applied. Yet John Harford's behaviour recovered my powers of exertion, & I met with little more to obstruct my proceedings.

16th. On my return from Corn Street, I found Joseph Fry at home, who staid the evening. He was very agreeable & entertaining.

29th. On my return from taking tea with H. Bush, I heard the affecting & unexpected tidings of Joseph Fry's death.^{hh}

On the next morning I wrote to his afflicted widow, & after dining in Corn Street, paid her a visit. She was in great grief, though appearing calm & acquiescent. It was some comfort to me that I could weep with her, as I had a sincere regard for her & her much loved deceased husband whom I had known from the time I was ten years old – whose useful benevolence produced universal regret at his loss, which was lamented in an uncommon manner by his acquaintance as well as Friends. But as a husband, no one could have more casue to feel her loss than his affectionate wife. The following First day I attended, with a numerous company, the remains of our friend to Fryar's meeting. The procession was large & the house crowded. T. Rutter, S. Dyer & E. Bevington preached, & it appeared to me a favoured opportunity. I soon after paid A.F. another visit, whom I found low, but not repining.

4th month. Lady B[raid] paid us a second tea visit, whom I much liked. Soon after she went to her daughter at Southampton.

10th. S. Warne who was now become our very agreeable neighbour, by living in Fort Lane, spent the afternoon with us.

14th. We prevailed with Anna Fry to pay us a visit with her sister Bevington. The next day I dined with them, where everything recalled the idea of the late master of this hospitable abode, where many of my juvenile hours were most agreeably spent. Still further back, memory presents him to my view as alleviating the pain of a disease when I was sheltered under the wing of an

^{hh} He died on the 29th aged about 59 years (see note {above})

indulgent grandmother. Not one person, out of my own family, have I so long known.ⁱⁱ

4th mo. 22nd. I received a large packet from my brother in America, which wholly engaged my attention, & raised strong desires that he who in mercy had renewed his desires after the path of peace, would be pleased to conduct him to that state where alone it is to be found. I felt, indeed, that my affection for him was unabated. O that we may be favoured to meet in the abodes of purity & bliss!

25th. Elizabeth Ash paid us a visit whose conduct & conversation manifested so much devotion of heart to the good cause that it seemed as if it would prove an incitement to diligence, in my feeble mind.

5th mo. 4th. Was buried from the meeting Zephaniah Fry^{jj} & the widow Lamb of Worcester.

6th. Our Yearly Meeting. Few ministers that were strangers attended.

15th. Heard of the removal of our long known friend James Dallaway. This was not a subject for sorrow, yet I felt myself much affected. He had been to me a kind friend, with whom, since he left Bristol, I had corresponded 20 years. At his setting out in life, he was a most agreeable companion, ever highly esteemed as a man of sense & probity; but for some years by the pains & oppressions of a complication of disorders, & by a series of uncommon trials in his own & his wife's family, the natural cheerfulness of his character, was obscured by gloom. All this reconciled me to the arrival of a period which removed him from a state of constantly increasing sufferings, to I trust & believe, a blissful immortality.

18th. Was buried George Baune {Bawm}. I was prevented from being present.

24th. My brother went to the London Yearly Meeting.

6th mo. 2nd. Tea at Capt. Walker's at Cote.

14th. My brother & sister went to Cheltenham. The next day, the child complained of her knee, had a bad night, & it appeared so swelled that Metford attended it. But another bad night, added to my apprehensions, quite

ⁱⁱ I cannot find that J. Fry, like his father & some of his descendants, ever wrote anything for publication; but a remarkable dream or vision which he had in the year 1776, is extant in M. S. & one copy is in my own possession. [J.F.]

^{jj} Of the Fishponds near Bristol – previously of Castle St., Bristol, where he carried on a Woollen drapery business, Adopting the sign of the “Star & Doves.” He was succeeded in business by his son Robert Fry, & the latter by his son the late Zephaniah Fry. [J.F.]

overset my spirits. I found comfort; but it was not till I knew it to be the effect of a fall that I grew easy. In a few days I was surprised with a visit from W^m Buller, who staid greatest part of the week. M. Fox was frequent in her visits & in better health than usual. But I was myself in such a state of debility & my spirits so very low, that I could enjoy nothing, Perhaps I was the worse from a propensity I had, when not well, of looking forward to a time when I should be incapable of usefulness & a trouble to my friends – a wrong disposition surely.

7th month. In the first week M. Fox sent to inform me she intended setting out for Plymouth the next morning, requesting to see me & the child in the Square. I sent for a coach & with my little companion, drove to W^m Bush's & accompanied M.F. to drink tea with A. Fry at Cold Bath Field. Some time after I dined at J. T[uckett's] with two Dawsons, fine young girls who had just left school, & was prevailed on to go with the company to eat strawberries at Ashton; but being without my little companion, I did not enjoy it.

27th. After dinner in a coach with my two charges, Sampson H. & the child, we went to Almondsbury to meet my bro^r & sister from Cheltenham – J. Waring on horseback. We had all the pleasure of meeting at tea. We had a very comfortable ride home, & I had a pleasure, not for many months enjoyed, of seeing my sister at the head of her table. 6th day I walked with her in Corn Street for the first time for 4 years –but my own health was not improved.

8th mo. 17th. At meeting I rece'd an invitation from M. Fox jun^r of Falmouth to spend a week with her at Bath, as she was going to be alone. I accepted & went the same afternoon. Whilst at Bath, I was introduced to Orlando Manly & his agreeable daughter Mary M, whose assiduous attention to an aged & afflicted parent was truly amiable. Once we went to the Abbey to see 900 charity children. One morning we were at Philip's Thickness's hermitage.⁷⁸ After we had walked round the garden, where a favourite daughter's remains were deposited, we were shown into a small room fancifully furnished & adorned with drawings. Whilst there seated, there entered a tall female in advanced life, whose dress & appearance were altogether singular. It was easy to perceive she had been handsome, & she was still a fine figure.⁷⁹ From a black riband round her neck hung a cross; her address to us was polite but not free from the romantic. She told us she partook of as much felicity in her charming retreat as could be experienced in this world. She then reprobated the manners of the great & the gay which she contrasted with the simplicity of the Quakers to whom she paid many compliments. To convince us that these were not meant to flatter us, she read us a paper intended, she said, for publication. She afterwards took us into the house, & talked, I believe, incessantly for an hour, informing us she had travelled

much, & had written the lives of pious women in France. She also dwelt on the accomplishments of her favourite deceased daughter, whom she said she had herself educated. P. Thickness first married a sister of Lord Audley's, by whom he had two sons. With these, he was continually at variance. Though I had been much entertained, I did not leave this pretty & singular place with a very exalted idea of the master or mistress of it; though by the latter's falling in with the humour of her husband (which gave her the appearance of a Lay Abbess) it looked as if there was a good understanding between them.

Before we left Bath I paid M. Bishop a visit at Keynsham, where I was rec'd with great kindness by my excellent friend who was, with everything about her, in exact order. Here I spent some hours in a manner truly satisfactory. During her unavoidable absence with her pupils, I wrote to Plymouth & Bristol. M. Fox joined me at tea & accompanied me back to Bath. The next morning we separated, & left me impressed with some valuable qualities she possessed. But as she was ever moving & I was as desirous of being almost always sitting still, a little conformity to each other was a mutual advantage. She went to Westbury & I returned home.

9th mo. 2nd. Whilst I was at A. Goldney's, Clifton, the little Count⁸⁰ was introduced there, who was 3 ft & 3 inches high. He was delighted with the grotto.

15th. Mary Ridgeway in Bristol, & was excellently engaged in the ministry.

17th. In the evening my brother T. brought back from town Charles Fox of Plymouth to lodge. The next day M. Ridgeway & Jane Watson dined with us; likewise T. Rutter, J. & C. Tuckett and her sister M. Reader. After dinner part of the company went to Clifton to see the grotto.

19th. Our Quarterly Meeting. M.R.⁸¹ preached at both meetings. The next day we all dined in Corn Street with M. Ridgeway & J. Watson. The following day Sally Ware of Wellington, a very pretty & very agreeable girl, with 3 of her brothers, drank tea with us. The next day we passed comfortably at S. Warne's. My bro^r & his guest were in town. While my sister stepped home to see her little girl, & my friend was putting hers to bed, I got into a train of reflections so as to loose the measure of time. My sister returning with an acct. that a person, whom she had met at Cheltenham & I had a desire to see, had called since we came out, broke the chain of ideas which had taken possession of my mind, & which had been chiefly relative to our present guest. The next morn I at meeting M. Ridgeway was much favoured in addressing several states. At 4 o'clock Daniel Silsby {Tilsby} (the person who had called the preceeding day) came to drink tea, & soon after Shurmer Bath. We expected the little Count to tea, but finding some of our company preferred going to meeting, my sister, S. Bath, D. Tilsby, & myself set out, leaving S. Warne to receive him though he come before my bro^r & C.F.'s

return, who, however, arrived before we set out. The countenance of the stranger was impressive – it had been handsome. He appeared reserved at the house, but in our way to meeting conversed freely. He took leave of us at the Meeting house door, & left me much interested in his welfare. M. Ridgeway was again excellent, & I was enabled to desire strength to resign myself & all my concerns to that Power who, knowing the secrets of all hearts, directs them at his pleasure. I returned home, remarkably comfortable in a coach with my sister – J. Waring, Sukey Harford, & S. Warne, we found at home, & spent a very agreeable evening. This is a day to be remembered with very pleasing sensations, full of enjoyments that leave no sting behind. In the retrospect of it may I be enabled to reflect with gratitude on the ability bestowed to desire that I may not be my own keeper, but try to depend on Him by whom the very hairs of our head are numbered.

25th. At the Monthly Meeting my brother commenced Clerk. We all dined in Corn St. I intended to have accompanied M. Reader (who was going to London directly after) as far as Bath, where I had promised to spend a few days with my cousin Dimsdale; but there being no room in the coach, I was disappointed, but was prevailed on to stay till next morn^g, when Charles Fox offered to accompany me in a chaise. Full of anxious thought, I sat with Caroline [T] in the afternoon, while the rest of the company paid a bride visit to Tho^s Scantlebury & his wife. They called for me on their way home; but I did not spend a pleasant evening. The next morning I rose full of thought, yet was able to set out pretty comfortably, & had just such a ride as I wished, My companion spent the day with us - The following day, at noon, he took his leave. I felt much respect for him, yet hoped he might meet with a suitable wife without coming to Bristol for her.

M. Ridgeway & J. Watson had a meeting at Bath 2nd day, at which both preached.

After my return to Bristol, Betsy Brain called, who was so troubled with Fitts, stammering, & deafness, I could not, though she was so very worthy, feel at ease in her company. In imitation of her great Lord & Master, she went about doing good, both to the souls & bodies of men, “rising early & late taking rest” – not to eat the bread of carefulness, but to assist the afflicted, whether sick or in prison. S. Warne & myself spent the even^g with M. Ridgeway & J. Watson at J. Lury’s. First day. Joel Cadbury dined with us.

Tenth Month 17th. Caroline Tuckett confined with a pretty little boy (P.D.T.) calling for my brother at J. Warings I went home with him, well pleased this expected event was over.

Eleventh Month. In the beginning of this month, I again spent a few days with M. Dimsdale at Bath, in Paragon Buildings, where she was on my last

visit. Whilst there, I visited Fr'd Collin of Plymouth, with whom was her agreeable niece S. Were. I afterwards dined with J. & S. Wittock of Yorkshire, & the next morning returned home in the stage. At F. Pinnock's, I heard E. Berry was in town, & in the afternoon both sisters drank tea with us. During her stay we had many agreeable visits from her.

Twelfth Month. In this month Charles, the son of Edward Harford, died of a putrid fever. He was near being married to Sukey Ford. This, as well as in the character of a son & brother, made it an affecting event.

J. Metford called & seemed affected with the death of C.H.T. & H. Rutter dined with us & staid tea. How pleasant is such company when the mind is by any recent event called home. The following First day Rebecca Jones⁸² was at meeting & prayed & preached. The next day we dined with her at L. H[awksworth]'s, where we heard of the removal of H. Wilkens. R. Jones had this evening an appointed meeting for apprentices & servants. In a few days dined with us the Stoke family, Sam. Harford included; which furnished me with an opportunity of making some observation on the folly of a member of a Society whose ancestors so dearly purchased for them a freedom from bondage, appearing a slave to fantastic fashions. But I desire to remember the necessity of care to watch against a Pharasaical spirit. It was, I think, to this alone our Saviour when on earth, showed severity.

In this month, though feeling myself various ways unqualified, I was by L. H[awksworth] prevailed upon to accept the office of Overseer.

25th. A deep snow. Sam^l Waring, B. & Fred. Cookworthy spent the day with us. The latter intended to settle in Bristol.

On 7th day received the pleasing information that Betsy W. Smith (Late West) had a little girl.

31st. I went after dinner to see F. Pinnock, who seemed almost worn out. I met S. Warne at J. Waring's (who was from home). We drank tea & spent the evening with Sam. Waring. S. Hanbury & F.C. joined us at supper.

In the course of the foregoing year many of S. Warne's as well as Shurmer [Bath's] visits are omitted.

Long is it since a departing year has left me so free from trials – so full of enjoyment. Indeed I consider an exemption from trial as putting into a capacity for enjoyment a mind capable of reflection. And O that I may be enabled to consider both prosperous & adverse events as blessings.

1788

First mo. 1st. We brought home S. Stevenson to dinner & Anna Fry. A.F. Jun^r staid tea & on her brother Joe fetching her home, his person recalled the idea of his father, which gave me pleasure.

3rd. My brother went to Kingsweston to meet Jane Pearson & M. Howarth. The following 1st day, I dined with them at J. Lury's. M.H. was an agreeable woman & seemed to be increasing in the ministry. J.P. appeared to be a sensible woman. Between the afternoon & even^g meetings my sister & I took tea with old Friend Stevenson, now in her 80th year. Her activity & benevolence delighted us. She had known a state of greater affluence, but had also learned in all states to be content.

8th. Our valuable friend M. Bishop paid us a visit. It was passed comfortably, Indeed with her peace seemed to dwell.

16th. We drank tea at M. Dimsdale's with T. Lancake, T. Mills,⁸³ & a clergyman whose name was Clark, a believer of the doctrine of universal restitution,⁸⁴ which he thought he was called to preach. He talked well & seemed well read in Scripture, & bore the character of a religious man, which he appeared to be; but warmth of temper sometimes carried him beyond the bounds of my idea of Christian moderation.

26th. Rec'd a large packet from America, which fully engaged my attention.

31st. We all spent at Clifton, where the good old gentlewoman [A. Goldney] was particularly kind to my sister. An agreeable daug^r of our neighbour Bowles & Susan Davies of Whitehall at tea. First day dined at T. Rutter's from whence I crossed the water alone to Temple Street which I had not done for years. Tea with F. P[innock]. Young Sampson Lloyd, with his brother Richard, spent the even^g with us. S. appeared to be a young man of superior abilities. In his sentiments there was a nobility that greatly pleased me. Should the power of religion ever take hold of this young man's mind, he will be a shining ornament to Society. Rich^d looked genteel & agreeable, but said little, which could be accounted for by his modesty & thoughtfulness on leaving home, as he was going to be placed with James Fox of Plymouth. J. Waring was also of the company.

2nd mo. 4th. Thos Mullett, who was lately returned from America, called with an acct of my brother's family. T. & H. Rutter & A. & S. Allen to tea. T.R. appeared low & poorly but full of good will to all.

5th. My aunt C., M. Dimsdale, R. Champion, T. Clark, & T. Lancake dined with us; after which Shurmer [Bath] joined the company. Such a collection could not fail of producing interesting conversation. In the course of it, opportunities occurred of remarking that, however dignified by understanding or enobled by religion, every man retains his favourite

sentiment which becomes so much his hobby horse as, if he has not command of temper, will make him apt to quarrel with those who are not willing to ride it, & are not equally convinced with himself, that it is the very best to convey him to that country to which all are bound. Shurmer seemed willing to let all ride quietly in their own way; but S. Lancake was warm.

8th. We set out for Plymouth, lodged at Cross, to which place we were accompanied by J. Waring & Sampson. The latter went on to Wellington, when we attended the morn^g mts. & dined at the widow Were's. The next day we dined at J. Sanders, at Exeter, with our old friend Codrington. We lodged at Ashburton, & the following day got to Plymouth. The child & myself slept at the old gentlewoman's who was still lively though nearly 83 years old. We were mostly at James Fox's where my brother & sister lodged, & with them we visited our friends. At this time I renewed my acquaintance with Mary Manly. The frequent meeting {with} our fr^d Charles Fox drew much observation; but as I had no other regard for him than the respect due to his merit, I felt the less embarrassed. We dined twice at his house; drinking tea at the widow Collier's. In the same evening we heard the affecting account of the removal of Betsy W. Smith in about six weeks after the birth of a little daughter, who "bid a hasty adieu to time & terrestrial things." About a month after her birth. At this time the remembrance of what Edward Hatton said to her, "Thou shalt finally be admitted to eat of the tree of life that stands in the midst of the paradise of God." We met Truman Harford at Plymouth, whose conversation was uncommonly animated & sensible. We visited M. Hobson & S. Fox; I was much pleased with them, their house, & son Francis Fox. Also visited at John Prideaux's, where it gave me pleasure to observe how happily my young friend was situated with a worthy, religious man. Their little boy was near 3 months old. Drank tea once at John Collier's with 20 people.

27th. We went to Looe, which gave me some time to reflect on the conduct of Charles Fox, about whom I now felt the more from my having been prevailed upon to visit Plymouth at this time; which I should not have done if I had not supposed he had given up all thoughts of me, & also determined, if he had not, never to accept of his proposals should he make me any. However reflections had often arisen which occasioned much thoughtfulness; but the free communication between his sister E.F. & me made it more easy to bear. During our stay at Looe we suffered much from the cold, but we enjoyed the evenings in A. Bawden's comfortable drawing room, where we had generally the company of Jonathan B. & Sally Tuckett. We often sat with our friend Tho^s Wadge, whom we found confined to his bed, and, though more decrepid, as cheerful as ever. Surely our enjoyments must depend more on the state of the mind & spirits than on outward circumstances.

3rd mo. 12th. We left Looe & drank tea at John Allen's at Liskeard. The next even^g we got safely to Plymouth. On the following First day Jonathan & S. Tuckett came to meeting & staid till 3rd day, when they went from J. Prideaux's where we had a meeting. Jonathan began on the uncertainty of life, & the cautions necessary to avoid the quicksands.

28th. Rose much oppressed after little sleep, in consequence of intense thinking. We had a large company the preceeding evening at James Fox's, as it was the one previous to our leaving Plymouth. I retired rather early with my sympathizing friend who, with her brother Charles, accompanied us to Ivy Bridge in one chaise. J. & M. Fox in a whiskey.⁸⁵ We dined together & all the company went on to Kingsbridge except Charles & E. Fox. During my ride, my thoughts were wholly occupied by the friends I had left; yet circumstanced as I was, I could not regret leaving Plymouth. We passed a few days at George Prideaux's, & found him & his wife surrounded by a large, well regulated family. One day I drank tea with the engaging Sally Hingston. Her first pretty little girl was about 2 years old. I was much pleased with the conversation of John Morris & lamented his being subject to such constitutional lowness as seemed to cast a gloomy shade on everything, yet it is the privilege of religious minds (as I believe was his case) to view thro' the mist that state where "all cloud, all shadows blown remote & leave no misery."^{kk} Young. The day after our leaving Kingsbridge, we dined at Joel Cadbury's at Exeter & drank tea at Codrington's. Joel & Sally C. spent the evening with at the hotel. One day after we drank tea at Melverton school with Mary Fox. 1st day afternoon Emma Berry & myself spent two hours alone in close conversation. She at this time, was thought to be near marriage.

4th mo. 8th. We set out & reached home the same evening. Stopping in Corn Street, we heard the melancholy account of Joseph King (who had been this even^g interred) being crushed to death by part of a beam falling upon him. He left a wife & nine children.

The day after our return the child (who was waiting for Polly Hall to take her in town) set out by herself, & was missing about half an hour, but was met & brought home by A. Dimsdale & her governess. This week we dined at T. Rutter's with Mary & Sarah Gurney, both ministers. We drank tea with them at J. Gurney's.

18th. In the evening arrived James Fox & his daughter Betsy upon in our late visit to Plymouth.

^{kk} A few months after he was found dead in his bed at the house of his nephew John Prideaux at Plymouth. [Note by S. Fox.]

20th. The Yearly Meeting, Joseph Baker, John Townsend, C. Hustler, & Rebecca Jones attended. We drank tea with C.H., R.J. & S. Squires at T. Rutter's. J. Townsend lately returned from America, & seemed full of that love & good will which characterize the christian. After tea Jere Waring, John, their sister Mary, & Sam, who now lived at Tewkesbury, went home with us to spend the evening; but we were sorry to find my brother much indisposed & unable to join the company. In a day or two Dr. L. was sent for, & after continuing very ill for several days with a fever of the bilious kind, my brother began to mend. During his illness it was comfortable to be with him to partake a little of that peace with which his mind seemed to be clothed. He was visited by R. Jones, C. Hustler, & L. Hawksworth who appeared lame, bloated, infirm, & much out of spirits. I staid in the parlour with S. Squires as it was thought too many for all to go up. I afterwards walked with L.H. in the garden. She expressed much feeling on account of my brother's illness, accompanied by a fear that the confinement would hurt my sister, whom she recommended to walk often in the garden. I attended them to the door, & looked after L. Hawksworth as long as I could see her. (It was the last look – the last time I ever saw her in a world where often, under the pressure of afflictive dispensations, I had experienced the comforts of her sympathetic regard. O may we meet in that state where frailty & sorrow are unknown!)

[The parenthesis is a footnote in the original, by S. Fox.]

5th month. On 4th day James Fox who had been our daily sympathizing friend & visitor, took tea with us, as he was going, the next morning. We soon had the satisfaction of seeing my brother down stairs. The next week we went to the Red Lodge to see M. Dallaway, who was at school there.

15th. I was at Battersby on an embassy about a house in James' square as we were obliged to quit the Fort, because T. Tindal wanted it for his son. Second day, we drank tea at the widow Ash's in James' sq.

20th. Waked comfortably impressed with the with the recollection of its being fifteen years since we met with the accident at Cambridge; especially as this was a period which my sister had looked to with apprehensions painful to her friends.

6th month 25th. Received a packet from America which led to tender reflections & recollections.

7th month. Truman Harford brought Sam^l Fisher from Philadelphia to spend the evening.

5th. Spent delightfully at Cowslip Green,⁸⁶ Hannah More & her sisters pleasant retreat; in whose behaviour was united good sense & modesty. Her sister Patty was also very agreeable. She made one in a coach which conveyed us (Betsy [Fox] my sister & self) there, also a young widow from

the East Indies. My brother, J. Waring & Sam. Fisher on horseback. The weather was not fine, but this proved no interruption to my enjoyment. The house was small in the cottage style, & furnished with simplicity & elegance. H. More read us an excellent letter of Newton's, which contained cautions respecting that part of mankind usually denominated good sort of people. To this subject he applies the fable of Esop respecting the Sun & wind – which would soonest make him put off his great – coat – comparing the profligate to the wind, which made the man wrap it the more about him; while the sunbeams occasioned his speedily throwing it from him.¹¹

Going up the Park, the horses failing, we were obliged to get out & stay at the lodge for another conveyance as it rained hard.

8th. I was gratified with a sight of Chas. Fox Ju^r, of whom having heard so much, I had long wished to see. His person being singular (tall & thin) & a kind of impediment in his speech, did not deprive him of powers in conversation to command attention. He had read & seen much, had a fine taste in drawing, which he now made his profession, & for this purpose was come to settle in Bristol.

14th. My sister received a letter from my Father to say he would be with us soon; and

18th. After we had dined, a little old man looking like a Frenchman walked up the court. Scarce any traces appeared at first view, of his former self. It was fourteen years since we had met. He accosted us with much kindness, & I retired to rest with a hope we had found a father, which pleasing idea an incident that occurred confirmed. It was about my mother's picture, of whom an admirable likeness, drawn in the full bloom of youth & beauty, hung in the chamber where he slept. The sight of this representative of an amiable woman with whom he had been so nearly connected, affected him so much that he requested it might be removed; at the same time saying that if there was ever an angel on earth, she was one. The next morning Betsy Fox & I walked with him to breakfast at Clifton. In a few days he left us, but returned unexpectedly & staid more than a week, when he went to Bath. In the course of his stay we were often visited by Shurmer [Bath] & J. Waring, & twice by Truman Harford.

Eight Month. Third Day. Sampson Lloyd, his wife & 3 daughters drank tea with us. With this respectable company, Betsy Fox left us the next day, in order to pay them a visit at Birmingham.

Ninth Month 1st. My father came & staid till the 12th when he walked to Bath. We immediately began moving house & lay in Montague St, though

¹¹ This letter will be found at p. 84 in the 2nd vol. of Robertson's Memoirs of the life and correspondence of Mrs. Hannah More. (3rd edition) [J.F.]

too weary to sleep. Here we went till we would meet with a more suitable abode.

17th. Was our Quarterly Meeting where preached a friend in Welch, whose periods flowed harmoniously; so that it was pleasant to hear him.

27th. We went to Corn Street [John Tuckett's] to see John Helton, his wife & two sons. But he was so altered in his person & dress that I should scarcely have known him to be the J.H. with whom I was once acquainted. His wife seemed to be an agreeable little woman. A train of reflections succeeded on the variety of scenes I had passed through since my last interview with him. The eldest boy, about 8 years old, was pretty, sensible & delicate. W^m was five – still in petticoats, a robust and good humoured boy, with sweetness of disposition pictured in his countenance.

Tenth month 20th. Edw. Nourville called to give me some account of my brother's [C.] Family. He was lately come from America. I had also heard much of them from a woman who had lived a servant with them & called herself Charlotte Brown. After dinner I went with S. Warne about the poor basket woman whose suffering had ended with her life the preceeding evening. She had undergone more than her strength was equal to in attending her daughter day & night through a dangerous illness. On her recovery the mother took to her bed & expired in a few days. I rejoiced she was gone "where the wicked cease from troubling & the weary are at rest." This compassionate old woman, on the decease of a neighbour, had lately taken to a child about 6 years old to save her from going to the parish, though she had very little sustenance for herself. It would have been shameful, indeed, to have cast off this little orphan who had been thus nourished by benevolence in the habitation of poverty, & the same subscription was continued to the daughter for the child's support.

21st. My Aunt C. [M. {S.?} Dimsdale] L. Cookworthy, & S. Harrison spent the day with us. S.H. was greatly altered in her person, but still agreeable. The next afternoon T. Mills, J. Helton, & Lady Braed at tea; an instructive entertaining visit. The next, we had Hannah More, her sisters Sally & Patty, J. & M. Helton, J. & C. Tuckett, T. Rutter, & J. Waring. Part of the company staid supper. H.M. spoke much of her favourite Johnson. The next evening we spent at J. Metford's with my aunt C., M.D., L.C., & S. Harrison.

Eleventh Month. The beginning of this month we had a visit from Clarkson. From his character & present engagement, expectation ran high, but it did not, as is often the case, lead to disappointment. His person was agreeable, his address modest & manly, neither eager to talk nor affectedly silent. Yet I thought he seemed oppressed with the weight of the good work which now brought him to Bristol. At the entrance of a person whom he believed to be no friend to the abolition, he was almost wholly silent. Falconbridge⁸⁷ (once

a surgeon on board a slave ship, but now engaged on the right side) was with him, also Harry Gandy,⁸⁸ Sampson Lloyd of Birmingham, John Helton, John S. Harford, T. Rutter, & Dr. Fox. But to me the subject of the slave-trade is attended with effects which make great inroads on my peace, & even on my rest; yet I trust the time is not far distant when the same gracious Power, who has been pleased to employ so many instruments in their service, will enable them to accomplish the glorious work of their deliverance. Soon after we spent an even^g in Park street with the Mores, with pretty much the same company. Neither Clarkson nor M. Moore said much, his aim being evidently to set Harry Gandy talking about the interior of Africa, a beautiful description of which he gave us.

About this time my brother went to Thornbury to meet James Thornton of America. He lodged at T. Rutter's. On the 30th at both meetings, he delivered in an earnest affectionate manner, many evangelical truths. In company he appeared good natured, sociable, & affectionate. One day he & John Pemberton dined with us, & T. Rutter, M. Dimsdale, R. Routh, S. Warne &c. Much of T. Thornton's conversation was addressed in an instructive affectionate manner to Sampson, who was exceedingly pleased with him.

Twelfth Month 7th. First day Sampson & myself spent the evening with H. Rogers (at her lodgings in James's Barton) after a good meeting, the influence of which seemed comfortably to affect us all. J. Thornton had preached at all the meetings this day.

Third day. A. Hunt & W^m Pink dined with us, after which we had a little sermon from this innocent old man. Duberg, a Frenchman, was present & very quiet. We hoped he might feel a little about it. Afterwards, W.P. gave us some account of his convincement. This young Frenchman often visited us. He had been first recommended to us by my father to procure him lodgings, & my brother was so pleased with him that he brought him home to dinner. The plainness & simplicity of his appearance and manner, so unlike the generality of his countrymen, pleased us & made his company as agreeable as it could be without being able to converse, or at least very little; as he understood about as much English as he [we] did French.

First day on our return from meeting we were informed of the illness of H. Metford, whom my cousin D[imsdale] & myself had met the morning before in Union St, from whence she went into Wine St, where suddenly falling down in a fit, she was taken into a shop & her husband sent for, who found her just sensible enough to hold out her hand to him & answer a question; but soon after she was conveyed home she grew worse, & on 2nd day morning expired leaving her beloved husband & a little boy & girl. She had long been in a poor state of health. She was a woman of an amiable disposition, a good & notable wife & fond mother. The same post brought an account of her aunt Fox's death at Wadebridge. Soon after we heard of the

sudden death of John Fox of Falmouth, & on the following day of the removal of our valued friend, Lydia Hawkesworth on the 17th Ins't at her sister Townsend's in London. Her remains were buried at Alton. My mind was tenderly affected at the loss of one who had, by repeated acts of kindness, engaged my grateful regard. Yet I was comforted in believing she was gone from a state of complicated suffering to a state where all suffering ceases. At this time J. Helton & family were at lodgings in James's Barton, with whom we often exchanged visits; as we frequently did with H. Rogers.

31st. My father came for few days. The next A. Fry & her two daughters dined with us.

The close of the year 1788, in which I have met with some interesting events, some perplexities – suspense, which to a mind like mine is trying – but I sometimes much desire that I may be more favoured with habitual resignation, & learn to read

“His hand as clear in my minute affairs

“As in his ample manuscript of sun & moon & stars.”

1789

First Month. Fifth day we spent at Keynsham with our esteemed friend M. Bishop, a visit which yielded me true satisfaction. Our coach was filled with my brother & sister, J. Helton, J. Mills & myself.

Third day. Clarkson & a gentleman of the name of Wadstrom,⁸⁹ a Swede, Henry Gandy, & Shurmer of the company & my father, who was our guest. Two of the company so much opposed Clarkson on the subject of the Abolition, that the conversation became irksome to most of the company; but on two withdrawing before supper, at which was added Truman Harford, we passed an agreeable evening.

16th. Morris Birkbeck,⁹⁰ dined with us, who was in Bristol making a collection of friend's books. The next day little W^m Helton, who was supposed to have the measles, proved to have the Small Pox without one favourable symptom.

My sister was mostly there by day till the 21st, when the dear little sufferer was released from all his pain. His brother was generally with me, & I seldom went out except to meeting, where appeared in the ministry George Withy, reminding me of Thos. Rutter's beginnings. The child was buried in Fryar's Yard on the 23rd inst. The company met at our house. After they were gone I followed to the yard & returned to tea with H. Rogers.

Second Month 1st. After dining at Clifton from meeting, I drank tea with my friend Anna Fry in Union St., who was still very poorly.

2nd. 47 years ago I entered into this world of vicissitudes. Many, many indeed, have fallen to my lot. The next day I was shown some letters from my father which had been, through kindness, concealed from me. Many consequent reflections it occasioned, but not one self upbraiding sigh. This week Patty D[alloway] came to dinner. She appeared improved both in person & manner. I feel much for this sweet orphan girl. I hope & trust that He who has promised to be a father to the fatherless, will early lead her to seek & serve the God of her fathers.

8th. About this time I was very low & thoughtful from various causes. I considered some blessings at various periods of my life had eluded my grasp; yet I desired to be preserved from murmuring, well knowing, though perhaps not always feeling as I ought, that unerring wisdom alone knows what is best for us. At this time I received a packet from America, which I sat up to peruse, & which engaged all my attention. The whole was satisfactory, except that relative to my dear Hetty – the child I had ever tenderly loved. She had met with a disappointment by the loss of a worthy man to whom she had consented to give her hand. I felt much for her on the occasion. My brother concluded his letter from Charlestown, whither he was sent as Representative of the county where he resided. On the praises of his wife & his absence from her he wrote like a fond lover, insomuch that it led me to some very tender apprehensions for him, if it should please Providence to deprive him of her. These letters brought them so near me that I seemed to go to sleep in their company. I think I have omitted to commemorate at the time the death of their eldest son Joseph Champion, in the fall of last year. He was a pleasing youth just 21 years of age.

Third Month. In this month was a general illumination on the King's recovery – a very improper way of expressing thankfulness on an occasion so important.

21st. Caroline Tuckett confined with a son whom she called Elias. My sister & I called to see S. Warne at S.G.'s. She was about to leave England & her little companion her only child. We drank tea with them the next day at S. Young's. It was an affecting visit though S. Warne's calmness diffused itself over the whole company. She seemed under that influence which governs & moderates the strongest & tenderest feelings. It was from a principle of duty she was going with her husband to Newfoundland, & she believed while the child was so young, it would be best under her friend's care, & not to risk the dangers of the sea and change of climate. She intended returning to England in 4 years. The dear little girl was playing about unconscious of an event which was to deprive her of an indulgent mother of whom she appeared to be very fond. Little conversation passed & we parted pretty much in silence. There are few whom I have met with since my youthful days, whose society I have so pleasantly enjoyed. With her, I felt not the

least reserve; whether silent or conversing, it was agreeable to be near her: but since we ceased to be neighbours; we had loss of her company, which we much regretted. Should we ever meet again it is not probable we can have such frequent intercourse as we had in the Fort: and what may happen to us all during the period of our separation is known only to that gracious Being who ordereth all things well. We saw our friend again unexpectedly the next morn^g at Fryar's Meeting, but avoided an interview. She went on board ship the 1st of the 4th month.

4th mo. In a day or two Patty Moore [More?] {More} spent the afternoon & evening with us. Her conversation was, as usual, lively & animated. J. W[aring] in the evening. Fifth day, with my sister, called at L. Harford's in King's Square to see the new married pair Sam^l & E. Harford, late Betsy Sanders.

Second-day, Lady B[raed] called to take leave, as she was going to leave Bristol, which she regretted; but she appeared to have secret sorrows. There was something about her that from the first engaged my regard and good wishes. We drank tea at John S. Harford's, who was just recovering from a dangerous fever, in the course of which died his 3rd child, a sweet little girl about five years old. Her mother's (and a fond one) behaviour on this occasion was truly admirable. At the time the child expired, the father was too ill to be made acquainted with it, though frequent were his inquiries of his wife after her – a truly affecting situation, and very trying to her maternal feelings. But from the time she had a hope of her husband's recovery, her conduct evinced that "he was better to her than ten sons", yet she had to encounter the painful feeling of her nearest friend being ignorant of an event so affecting. He bore the communication better than they expected; yet his looks on this little family, when they were brought in the parlour (for they came home only the day before) were very expressive of his feelings.

16th. Sukey Harford spent the evening with us. As we were alone with her we conversed on the difficulty of her attendance on meetings from Stoke; about which I could truly sympathize with her from the experience of my own youth having been in the same situation as she now was. She shed many tears, and was entitled to much compassion. Naturally timid and fearful she felt persecution depress her spirits and weaken her powers of action. Though our trials had been similar, our dispositions were very different. Opposition had on me its common effect to produce zeal; but the temptations which had too often succeeded with me were of the insinuating kind, which were apt to leaven into the spirit of those I loved, as an affectionate behaviour melts my powers of resistance.

23rd. The first stone laid of the new Church on the spot intended for Portland Square. My sister and I drank tea with Betsy Harford at Frenchay. The following day B. & J. C[ookworthy] spent the even^g with us, talking of their

different pursuits, though it was a wife each had in view. F.C. was soliciting the affections of Sally Ring, with the approbation of both their friends. In this month, J. & F. Pinnock were removed to the church-yard, and carried on their business there.

5th month. In the second week of this month, we drank tea at George Fisher's at the request of John Waring, who had a wish to cultivate an acquaintance with his amiable daughter.

10th. Our Yearly Meeting. Thomas Waring, a minister of the name of Simon, and John Townsend. I drank tea in Union St. with A. Fry and her agreeable daughter-in-law Jenny Fry. Spent the evening at T. Rutter's, who preached after supper chiefly on the words, "Look back to Bethel & dwell there." He said, with great humility, how much more himself and some others present might have been advanced, had we kept steadily in the path where we were led in early life. Of this truth I felt as an individual fully convinced. 2nd day drank tea at Matthew Wright's. At home, I found, J. & Sam. Waring, T. Mills, Sukey & Sally Harford, J. Biddle & Rich^d Phillips of London, who all staid the evening. The meetings closed 3rd day, it being the opinion of some it was best to shorten them; which was considered as paving the way to abolishing them entirely. But among their other advantages, an observation I heard J. Townsend make last year, is "that as iron sharpeneth iron, so doth a man the countenance of his friend." The next afternoon my brother accompanied many friends to hold a meeting at Kingswood. Edmund Fry and his pretty wife, Polly & Joe, F.C. & S. King, drank tea with us. 7th day morning we had an agreeable visit from Thomas Waring & H. Rutter. I spent the afternoon with E. Dickinson, who was in a very declining state of health, & seemed hurried by preparation for M. Palmer's marriage who was near being united to a gentleman in Wiltshire whose name was Codrington.

Third day we attended the Quarterly Meeting at Frenchay & dined at T. Rutter's, where was much company. Our coach contained my sister, J. Waring, Peggy Fisher & myself. J.W. was so much pleased with the party as to prevail on them to take a ride to Kings Weston⁹¹ the next afternoon, Sampson with us. Here we drank tea, walked about, saw delightful prospects, & in the house, at Lord de Clifford's good paintings. J.W. & Peggy staid the evening with us. In the morning I had been to Cathay to speak to Ann Moon about going to the London G. M. Here I saw poor P. James, who lived near, & who after long striving with the bustle of life (to use her own words) to no purpose, was now settled in this retired spot.

21st. Accompanied H. Rogers, to the sick chamber of a poor woman whom she knew, who had requested to see John Thomas with a view to be cured by Animal Magnetism. But though he sat long by her bedside, nothing worth notice passed; nor do I apprehend was any good produced.

Sixth day. J. Waring & George Withy spent the even^g with us. We were pleased with G.W.'s company, but Wilberforce's admirable speech on the abolition being read, there was not much time for conversation. The next day spent at Clifton, where I had a new opportunity of observing how little A. Goldney valued money, except as the means of good to others.

Fourth day. Though my sister had been poorly some days & was not recovered, she with her husband & H. Rutter set out for London G. M. (the latter) leaving her little Rachel with Esther & me. As they drove from the door, I felt myself in a post of care, though having so able an assistant in Polly Hall^{mm} made me the more easy. I was so low and poorly most of their absence as to be incapable of enjoyment. In this state the company of H. Rogers & Sampson was most agreeable to me. Once Patty D[alloway] spent a day with me. Shurmer [Bath] was generally a daily visitor; but I was at this time under unusual depression.

Sixth Month. Sukey Harford, when I was at Stoke with the children, requested to speak with me alone, in which interview she told me her apprehensions respecting G. Bush, and begged me if possible to prevent it. This very 3rd day evening after the children were in bed G.B. came to spend the evening with me; yet he did not enter on the subject by which he appeared to be engrossed. Received a tea visit this week from Peggy Fisher & John Waring.

7th day. I was called down stairs by M. Dimsdale who said she had something to show me. Something indeed was at the door which drew tear from my eyes – a little child not larger than most of 4 years, though she said she was 8, tottering under a basket of chips which she appeared scarcely able to carry – some tattered remains of clothes hung about her. In short, a more striking picture of misery I never remember to have seen, though there were pretty, intelligent eyes looking up through all. After buying her chips & giving her something to eat, we appointed her to come on next 2nd day, to meet us at S. Young's. She was brought there by an elder sister, and we found there were 5 of them, all girls, who had lost their mother. Their father, an idle carpenter, had married a second wife who had the care of these girls, & one younger; the two eldest being out at what they called services. Considering the subject was well as we could after we had dismissed the children, we determined to put the 3 younger ones to school. Yet this did not answer respecting the little girl that first drew our attention, it was very unsatisfactory to me when I recollected M.D. told me she had felt her mind particularly impressed to being that child to me. This day myself and the children spent at M.D.'s, the next day Rachel Rutter was sent for, her father & mother being come home. After dinner I went into Castle St, and had the

^{mm} Esther C. Tuckett's nurse, & afterwards the wife of John Prince. [J. F.]

satisfaction of hearing that H.R. thought her little daughter improved in her looks.

7th day my brother & sister came home, and their presence seemed to ease me from a load of care to which I had never before felt so unequal. The next day at even^g meeting, preached excellently Sarah Grubb⁹² from Ireland, and Mary Proud. The delivery of the latter was remarkably pleasing, her periods much varied and very pathetic, which appeared when she spoke of the king's recovery. S. Grubb had also an agreeable manner, and was a very good preacher. I was too poorly to attend the afternoon meeting where Marsillac⁹³ delivered in a solemn manner a few sentences in French. Robert Grubb acted as interpreter and seemed to feel for him. We spent the evening with him & many others at T. Rutter's where he lodged. After supper R. Grubb read several French letters (in English) from the Friends there of their proceedings settlement &c.ⁿⁿ Marsillac looked like most of his countrymen, full of vivacity, but it appeared to be tempered by moderation. His countenance was interesting, and the whole together formed a pleasing compound of the christian & the gentleman.

The next morning while I was at home alone, I had time for reflection. Strong were my desires for the best help, well convinced that much may be resigned by those "who are yet far from having resigned their own wills, and the trials which pass unnoticed by the world are often most useful to bring us to that state of mind our duty requires."

In the afternoon we had a very large company to tea – R. Grubb and wife, Marsillac, J. Helton and wife, M. Proud, T. & H. Rutter, Anna Fry, J. Waring, Peggy and F. Fisher &c &c. When the friends stood up to go away, the child [Esther C. Tuckett] said she thought the friends would have had a meeting; & a friend whose name was White, & who came from Cork, then desired the company would be seated; after which he began on the benefits of afflictions, calling them "blessings in disguise." This, feeling unwilling to receive, I turned from the subject as much as possible. Next M. Proud preached & touched on the same subject; and again stood up and addressed the young men. The following 3rd day Matthew Wright⁹⁴ brought Marsillac to breakfast, whose mind seemed much affected by his having taken leave of his friend Grubbs. I regretted having lost so much of my French as not to be able to converse with him in it, as he spoke English very imperfectly. The next morn^g my brother and J.W. went with him as far as Melksham on his way to London.

ⁿⁿ For a very interesting account of De Marsillac, see an Epistle from Friends of Congonies in the Friend for 4th month 1845. This letter or epistle was probably one of those read by R. Grubb. It was dated Oct 4th 1785. [J. F.]

20th 7th day. After breakfast to S. Young's to meet Sally Eady, the child about whom my cousin Dimsdale had interested me; whom I had met some days before in the street with a sister a little older who talking unkindly to her, the little sufferer without making any reply, quietly wept. This determined me to take this poor child, believing that as in doing this I only performed my duty, I might leave the consequences. After she was washed and dressed in new clothes (for on telling the tale to a few Friends, they unasked offered their assistance), we seated her in a little chair, and most sincerely did I desire that it would please Providence to bless my endeavour to serve this little innocent sufferer, whose looks and behaviour much better corresponded with her present than her former appearance. After dinner she went to Stoke with a woman M. Lloyd had recommended to take her.^{oo}

First day. Joseph Garret preached and, with T. Rutter spent the next even^g with us. Several others came, among them F. Cookworthy to ask my brother and sister to go to Monthly M^s with him & his friend S. King. Also J. Waring who had commissioned his uncle Rutter to speak to George Fisher about his daughter. The next morning Sukey Harford begged me to inform her mother that G. Bush had opened his mind to her. Sixth day. J. Garret & J. Helton at tea. Some of W. Cookworthy's letters were read, and we were very comfortable. At this period Lizzie Foster who was at Bristol with Sam^l Galton, frequently called.

Seventh Month. In the first week my brother went to the Quarterly M^s @ Taunton. At our meeting that day Sam^l Dyer began thus, "Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward." Afterwards at the conclusion of an excellent Testimony of Thos. Rutters, he addressed an afflicted state on the great benefit of sufferings – of being resigned to the dispensations of Providence. "Those" he said "who endure most on earth, would, if they bore it patiently enjoy the most in heaven." I thought then why should any murmur, & that those whom the all-sufficient helper has been with in six troubles, may have ground of hope he will be with them in the seventh. In the course of the few following days my sister was so ill I was very uneasy. How much I felt is not to be expressed. To the end of the week she was confined to her bed. On 1st day some amendment appeared, & I sat for hours near the chamber door while both my brother & she slept, feeling my mind refreshed in reading some portions of scripture, & having time to reflect "on the inexpressible privilege it is to pour out the heart when it is pressed down

^{oo} This child Sarah Hawkins Eady, lived to be 62 years of age. She was much deformed perhaps owing to the hardships of her childhood. Her employment varied at different times. Friend's bonnet making and preparatory school keeping being two of her avocations. She was received into membership with friends and continued in Bristol, dying at lodgings at Portland St. Kingsdown on the 5th of 11th mo. 1843 aged 62 years as above stated. [J.F.]

with sorrow – to pour it out in confidence to Him in whose hands are life & death, & on whose power awaits all that the first enjoys, & in the contemplation of whom disappears what the last has to inflict.” 3rd day. My sister was so much better that she sat up for some time. I rec’d a letter from E. Fox informing me that her brother Charles was set out for Wellington, but that she knew not his further destination. This, with my sisters amendment, filled my mind. Shurmer who visited us daily was with us this evening.

On 2nd day in the following week my brother, sister & Polly Hall went to John Tuckett’s lodgings at Cotham (they being in town) where the child was sent every afternoon & myself went often. In the course of this week I took leave of Duborg at M. Dimsdale’s who was going to Paris on account of the tumults there. In the interval, I was favoured with returning health & spirits for which I felt truly thankful.

21st. My brother & sister returned home in the evening. At dinner time this day Sampson, who was my constant companion at meals, told me he had received a letter from his brother Osgood, who was to be here the next even^g to consult my brother on a subject of importance to him. He came accordingly & lodged at our house. His business was to propose to my brother his parting with Sampson immediately something advantageous having offered for him. To this my brother consented, though sorry to part with him; but he preferred his interest to his own. S. left us not wholly till the middle of the

Eighth Month, in the beginning of which Shurmer engaged us about the schools in James’ parish. I was copying the rules till I found my brother & sister at the Widow Ash’s to tea.

11th. At the marriage of Fred^k Cookworthy and S. King. The company large. T. Rutter preached and prayed at the meeting, and afterwards in the Women’s Meeting Room, he said he believed, “that no one had their happiness more at heart than – himself – that he much desired their future prosperity, and he believed their union was owned by Him, who he hoped, as they looked to Him, would bless their bread and their water to them.” The company at the house being still larger and the weather warm &c. I had little enjoyment of the day, though everything was conducted with propriety. The following First day we drank tea in Union St. with the new married couple, in company with about 30 people. 2nd day I spent part of the morn^g at F.P’s. professedly to see a company of Freemasons pass; but my mind was so occupied about C.F. who I had heard had been detained by illness at Wellington, that it seemed as if the suspense was become almost insupportable. I had thoughts of paying my relations at Falmouth a visit, but did not choose to pass through Wellington.

19th Third day, comfortable at morning meeting, when I experience peace in desiring submission to the dispensations of unerring Wisdom, believing the Lord is good to all who are willing to depend upon him. The words "Trust in the Lord &c," at this time, as they had often lately done, impressed my mind & were attended with inexpressible comfort. From this meeting, which will never, I hope, by any succeeding scenes be erased from my memory, I accompanied my friend Ann Goldney, my sister & little Esther, & Ann Dimsdale to Clifton. Soon after we were seated in the parlour John Dearman⁹⁵ of Birmingham was introduced, with whose person, conversation, & address, I was exceedingly pleased. Not long after he was gone, the door again was opened & my brother Tuckett entered, introducing Charles Fox of Plymouth as his guardian. My sensations were such as made me wish to be alone. That being impossible I wished the day over. M. Harford came to tea, with whom my sister rode home, but I walked with the rest of the company. The warmth of the weather joined to my feelings, occasioned my retiring to bed greatly fatigued, though without a doubt of the purpose of this visit, C.F. did not communicate it till the following,

2nd day. On a subject so important to my future happiness, I was fully sensible nothing short of the [aid] of unerring wisdom would ensure a right determination; & I ardently desired that no prospect of worldly ease on the one hand not timidity on the other might influence my decision.

In the course of this week a brother of Clarkson dined with us. He was a fine young man with a countenance expressive of benevolence. J. & Sally Fry with their pretty cousin R. Arch drank tea with us. The next afternoon we spent at the New Passage. Here we saw Dr. L[udlow's] wife who was there for the air in a very declining state of health. First day, from the morning meeting, we went to J. Beck's, Frenchay, where we spent the remainder of the day.

Ninth Month. John Byrth of Plymouth dined with us. He was nephew to the celebrated Goldsmith & born in the "Deserted Village" – grandson to the person who was said to be "passing rich with 40 pounds a year."⁹⁶ He was going to Ireland.

Sally Were of Wellington was at the time in Bristol. A young widower was trying to make an impression on her heart. She & her brother Sam. went with their uncle Fox after he had staid with us about 4 weeks. During his visit, though I had felt a peaceful mind, I could not bear to look forward – yet determined not to admit another visit till I thought I ought to proceed. In this month I first went to the schools, being appointed joint visitor with M. Gifford & M. Dighton. The fruits of this benevolent Institution, I trust, will appear in the next generation.

19th. H. & M. Davis & S.B. dined with us. 1st day at Clifton – entertained with having read Thos. Colison's letters written from different places in Europe in a tour he was taking with young Walker. The next day we drank tea @ Edw^d Ash's with the widow Keneston, a fine woman with a pleasing address.

5th day afternoon my brother brought home Hannah More, Sally, & Patty, Shurmer [Bath] was sent for to whom they wanted to talk about the schools they wished to establish in their neighbourhood.

Tenth Month 5th. Sent for Betsy Eady; cousin D. having got her a place at J. Champion's. I found her mistress would have parted with her this very day; which I thought a new instance of providential care over this family. In the next week we spent a day at D. Hobro's at Tockington. 7th day evening received a letter from my friend C. Fox informing me of his intention of being at Bristol on 2nd day. He came to dinner.

16th. My brother, sister, M. Dimsdale, C. Fox & myself went in two chaises' to Keynsham; from whence my brother & C. Fox went on to Bath in order to speak to my father. We spent a comfortable day with T. Mills & his wife he having lately married Mary Bishop.

Eleventh Month 5th. I signed a paper expressive of my consent for Charles Fox to lay his intentions of marriage before his meeting at Plymouth – an incident that solemnly affected my mind even to tears. I felt comfortable in an assurance my brother gave me that I had done a deed of which I should never repent. The next day we dined with him at Cross on his way home.

13th. I accompanied my good friend A. Goldney to Clifton where I staid till 3rd day morning, when I returned with her to meeting her regret as well as Anne G's & Maria Clark's at parting from me, though well pleased with my prospects was very grateful to me; & I passed the two days very agreeably with them, desiring to retain a sense of the old Gentlewoman's past & present kindness.

24th. The Monthly Meeting, where John Waring & Margaret Fisher declared their intentions of marriage; for whom I felt much; or rather perhaps, for myself, in the reflection that I should probably be her companion next time. In the evening S. Young brought a letter from S. Warne who, though in exile from all she loved (for her husband was absent from her) was preserved in peace.

Twelfth Month 13th. First day I dined at M. Dimsdale's where the five Eadys met.

18th. I received a letter from Plymouth with intelligence that my friend would see me on 2nd day. The reflection of the purpose of this visit occasioned

many thoughtful hours. He brought Priscilla Fox to her mother, & Sukey Harford from Exeter.

29th. The evening preceeding our going to the Month M^e, & I found in my attendance there, the next day, much want of fortitude, though I was afterwards comfortable. We spent the next evening at John Waring's in Queen's Square, where we found his valuable sister Mary. We were joined at supper by Matther W[right] & Shurmer Bath. Evening was cheerfully & agreeably spent. J.W. appeared very comfortable, & seemed to be anticipating a new scene of life, into which he expected to enter on that day week with his amiable friend M. Fisher.

31st. We drank tea with friend Berry. J. Pinnock went with us there & came home with us & spent the evening: in the course of which, reflecting on her hard lot, I was sensible of earnest wishes for her welfare every way; accompanied with a desire for myself that I might, when blessed in basket & in store, be kept uninjured in a state of prosperity, & on the other hand be capable of feeling the unremitted favors of a kind Providence, so as gratefully to enjoy his gifts. For truly, can I say, He is good in all His dispensations, though some of them this year have been seemingly severe. Surely poor erring man, had he only the gift of immortality, has enough to be thankful for, let him suffer what he will in a few incertain moments; at the termination of which when the veil is removed, we shall know why what we call misfortunes & what we call blessings have been permitted or withheld. We shall then know our Heavenly Father has 'fed us with food convenient for us,' however it may be sometimes bitter & sometimes sweet.

1790

1st mo. In the first week of the year I met the female visitors of the benevolent schools & resigned my post.

4th. Calling, on F. Pinnock, she informed me that C. Ludlow's remains were to be deposited this morning in James' Church. Just then the hearse & coach stopped at the door of it. As I saw the coffin taken in, followed by her husband, son, & Capt. Walker, the remembrance of past scenes revived in my mind, & I felt an almost irresistible impulse to follow, which I did F.P. accompanying me. Her patience through a tedious illness corresponded with the worth of his character through life. Of this I had been often a witness, having held an intimate converse with her occasionally for some years. The doctor grieved exceedingly after his wife. The next morning I was present at a very different scene, the marriage of John Waring & Margaret Fisher; but I sat at one corner of the Gallery where I could see unperceived. Sam^l Smith of America preached well; T. Rutter followed with a lively testimony; Sam^l Dyer prayed, petitioning for a blessing on those uniting in the covenant of

marriage. My brother & sister T. were of the company & spent the day in Princess Street. C.F. & myself spent the afternoon & evening with H. Rogers. The next day we dined at Clifton, where we heard of the sudden death of Susanna Stafford in her 84th year. She went to bed cheerful & much as usual, was seized in the night with a shortness of breathing, & in about an hour expired. She was, I fully believe, well prepared for her change; yet will be missed by many who were partakers of her bounty. She left an aged sister, the only survivor of a numerous family.

7th. Fifth day. We attended from J. Metfords, where we dined the first evening meeting held that day of the week instead of sixth day morn^g.

18th. On our way to John Harford's to tea, we visited Dr. Ludlow the first time since the loss of his wife, & thought he looked & seemed very poorly.

26th. At the second monthly meeting where I felt greater firmness. The next morning my brother attended the burial of Elizth Reding Dickenson @ Redcliff. Thus of a gradual decay, occasioned by a complication of disorders, ended the life of one whose lot had been much varied, whose talents were great, & who had through every vicissitude, the powers of pleasing, in so distinguished a manner, that her company & conversation were much sought by different descriptions of people, amongst whom were some of the foremost ranks in society. She was favoured with a peaceful close. The poor lost in her a kind benefactor, & her servants a true friend whom they sincerely lamented. It might be said that she was "by strangers honoured & by strangers mourned."

One morning this week, I met at Sam^l Dyer's Samuel Smith who seemed pleased at our meeting. He spoke of my intended engagement, & expressed his approbation of it; which proved a cordial to my drooping spirits. He & Anna Fry & family dined with us. 6th day. My father came at noon & dined with us in Corn St. We called in Clare St. to see M. Fox who returned poorly from Bath, some days before. James Fox & his sister came in the evening; their friendship brought them to be present; at the most important act of my life.

Very low the following First-day @ Meeting with the thoughts of leaving Bristol meeting. This, I particularly felt while my old & valued friend was preaching. I could not help regretting that after having sat 30 years under his ministry, I could no longer enjoy it. I had often experienced its efficacy, though sensible it had not done its office as it ought. I also felt much at parting with several of my acquaintance, who expressed many good wishes for my happiness. With a mind deeply impressed on this occasion, being just returned from meeting, I write this. E. Fox came home with us to dinner. Sam^l Dyer drank tea with us, with whom I went to evening meeting. Second day was my 48th birthday & the last I shall have a claim to a name I have so

long owned. It is late in life to change, but I have cause to hope, it is in the right time, & O' may it please him, who has often extended unmerited help, to support me in the completion of the solemn engagement in view; & that He will be pleased to enable me to perform the covenant which I am, I trust, with His divine approbation going to make. For, well am I assured in this, as in every other duty, I can of myself do nothing. In the morn of this day, I went to take leave of Betsy Parsely. In the evening Sampson Hanbury came to be of the company.

Second Month 2nd. Third day, at a solemn meeting & before a numerous audience I entered into covenant of marriage with my friend Charles Fox. T.R. & S. Dyer preached excellently; the latter was engaged in supplication. The company at dinner consisted of about 20, to which several were added to tea; after the latter meal T. Rutter preached & prayed, petitioning for a blessing for those who had this day taken each other in marriage. The impression on my mind was strong; may it be equally lasting. The following sixth day we set out for Plymouth; leaving my native place – a place where I have tasted of the highest flavoured fruit of friendship, & where I have also felt the sharpest pangs that the sufferings of those with whom I had been thus affectionately united, could inflict on a heart not insensible. My sister & long known friend E. Fox went with us, & my brother & sister T. accompanied us as far as Bridgwater, where we lodged the first night, & where next morning, we parted – here language fails. We staid two days at our sister Were's at Wellington where I was not in a state to enjoy anything, though sensible of the kindness I received from our friends there; it was a comfort, to me to meet Sam^l Smith, who had an appointed meeting on 2nd day morning which we staid to attend, & afterwards went to Exeter, the following day we reached Ashburton & on the next, got to Plymouth in the even^g. In the same week we were visited by Lydia Prideaux & her worthy husband who introduced to us two fine children, a very engaging boy two years old, & a little girl 8 months. For a little while Sam^l Smith came to Plymouth & lodged at our mother Fox's. This visit I had anticipated with pleasure, but in this I was disappointed; for, from my husband being poorly, receiving company &c. I had but little of his company, though he dined one day with us, & in the beginning of the 3rd month, & on his return, spent an evening. John Hipsley was his companion. S. Tuckett, J. Binns, & Eliphaz Jackson came from Looe with him. The two latter lodged at our house. E.J. appeared to be a religious sensible, innocent young man, he lived at Looe. Most of this (3rd) month was spent in receiving & paying visits.

Forth Month, was removed our old friend Thomas Wadge & Tabitha, the wife of W^m Cookworthy. Both appeared prepared for the solemn change, though their situations in life were widely different. T. Wadge was released from a world where he had many years languished in pain & poverty. In his last moments he sent me a solemn caution to watchfulness; expressing at the

same time a hope that we might meet in that "city which hath foundations." May this caution & hope be availing. T. Cookworthy was only 23 years old, much attached to a husband who married her from affection; yet after having been long in a declining state, she was enabled to resign even this beloved friend, to take leave of him & assure him she had nothing to do but to die. This, he told us in a visit my mother Fox & I paid him before the burial.

On the 21st with a large company, I attended her remains to the meeting house which was crowded, & the meeting solemn. Both J. Binns & S. Tuckett were acceptably engaged, & many were much affected. A short time before this, was removed at her father's house @ Bridgwater, the amiable Sally Hingston, where she went to take leave of her father (lately deceased). She left two children who merited compassion in the loss they had sustained of an indulgent mother. She was sensible of her danger & resigned to quit a state which, from her too feeling mind, proved one of frequent trial.

Fifth Month 20th. Removed to a house in George Street, which my husband had purchased & fitted up, where we had, the last few weeks, spent much time watching the workmen & moving house.

Sixth Month 2nd. From being busy to the last moment, I set out with my husband to meet my brother, sister, Esther, P. Hall & Sally Eady (whom I had left @ Stoke) to Ivy bridge.⁹⁷ The two last came in the stage & arrived first. I was sincerely glad to see them. Sally was much grown & improved. My brother sister & child came to tea. It is those seasons in which the heart is most interested that I feel most unequal to describe; but I may say my sensations were delightful. Esther's affectionate disposition fully showed itself in our meeting. I went with her & her mother in the chaise to Plymouth, where I had the pleasure of welcoming them to the habitation of the kindest of husbands. In about 3 weeks, my sister, the child & myself went again to Ivy bridge to meet my aunt C, cousin D[imsdale] & Ann, who by an engagement of long standing, were to be S. Fox's guests. They were, however our frequent visitors. In about 3 weeks my husband & brother T. left us for 2 days – one to vote @ an election @ Liskeard, & the other to attend the Q. M. at Liskeard. They returned to our Q. M. which lasted longer than usual on acc't of a disagreeable affair which was brought from Exeter.

Eighth Month 10th. After spending 10 weeks with us, much to mutual satisfaction, my brother, sister, & the child left us. We accompanied them as far as Ashburton after an early dinner. In the morning they proceeded on their journey & we returned home after dining at Ivy Bridge. We engaged to follow them to Bristol after going to Falmouth; but a fever there prevented our visit to G.C. & C. Fox.

Ninth Month 8th. We set out, staid a few days @ Wellington & on the 14th arrived @ my brother Tuckett's. A visit to one's native place, thus

circumstanced, & after having left it only a few months, when few alterations are likely to have taken place, is an enjoyment, the nature of which, I think, can only be, conceived by those who have experienced it. We visited our friends & relations in general, found John Waring happy with an agreeable wife, the old gentlewoman @ Clifton as well as we had left her, & most of our friends the same.

Whilst I was in Bristol, some time in the Tenth Month, being alone in my chamber, I thought I felt an impression on my mind that something was the matter in America, & went to my sister saying I feared my brother was dead; but willing to consider it a whim. I took no further notice of it. One morning my sister & I breakfasted with John Wesley @ Thos. Bonville's,⁹⁸ with whose holy & benevolent conversation we were much pleased.

Just before we set out homeward on the 1st of Eleventh Month, we received an account of our niece L. Prideaux's confinement with two fine girls Jane & Mary. My brother & sister Tuckett spent the evening with us at Bridgwater, but Esther staid with her cousin Hetty Bawden, an agreeable girl, 12 years old whom they had taken home with them last summer. We parted with great reluctance the next morning in the prospect of a longer separation than usual; but I felt an alleviation in believing that distance of place cannot separate minds, the truth of which I experienced the remainder of the journey. We staid part of two days with our worthy sister Were, & went through Tiverton to the Oxford Inn @ Exeter, where I felt myself unusually fatigued. On the following day, through "perils by land & perils by water" we reached Plymouth. Between Ivy Bridge & Ridgeway the waters were out & deep for a considerable way. We found our good mother as well, though not so strong as before her last illness; L.P. & her pretty little twins in health; our sister M. Fox poorly; J. P. Dearman near the end of his 3rd visit to Priscilla Fox, who had consented to give him her hand.

Twelfth Month 17th. In the afternoon a letter was put into my hands which I impatiently opened, & my eyes met with a few hasty lines from my brother C. imparting that the severest calamity had just befallen him in the deprivation of his excellent, his beloved wife in whom his happiness seemed to be centred, who had been his companion & stay through various trials, & accompanied him to a distant land. Overcome by surprise & sympathy, I laid down the letter, unable to finish it; & my tears flowed incessantly the whole evening. On retiring to bed, I got more calm; but the boisterous elements conspired to deprive me of rest. I felt deeply for my poor brother who, I feared, would not be able to live "without the society of a woman, the firmness of whose spirits, & the uniformity of whose conduct have through the various afflictive scenes they have been permitted to pass, supported his spirits – deprived of riches of honours, of the society of those on whom he leaned for support – having @ last taken refuge in a foreign land, when in

the domestic circle of his own family, his first & dearest earthly prop was a beloved wife, & she is torn from him. May that God whose ways tho inscrutable, are full of mercy, be his refuge, & may His everlasting arms be underneath for his support” [Extract from E. Tuckett’s letter]. She was the companion of my childhood, the partaker of my youthful pleasures, & the confidential friend of my riper years, but I weep not for her loss, but for her husband & children. It is 9 years since I was separated from her. In the same letter my sister T. mentioned M. Warings being confined with a daughter, on which occasion she says, - “Thus do we congratulate the entrance of one on this vale of tears, & lament the departure of another, who we hope, is safely arrived to a blessed eternity – a proof how wisely we estimate real felicity.”

25th. I received comfort from a visit paid us by our aged mother, & our sister Eliz’th, who spent the day with us.

31st. & now on the last day of a year uncommonly productive of events & full of blessings, exempt from trials till the last month, & favoured with a grateful sense of unmerited mercies, I close 1790 – yet not free from anxiety, & in a painful state of feeling for my poor absent, afflicted brother; I am sensible I stand in need of ability to resign my will to the will of my heavenly Father, If I can but be entitled to the promise that “all things shall work together for my good” I shall indeed be enabled to say, under a feeling sense of its truth, “Thy will be done.”

1791

First Month. Some trying complaints, with what I felt for my brother, were often, @ this time, more than my spirits could well support, both in this & the few succeeding months. But all states may be profitable, however unpleasant.

Second Month 10th At the marriage of John P. Dearman & Priscilla Fox.^{pp} The meeting house was filled with genteel people who behaved well. The bride was much affected previous to her entering it, on which occasion his father & mother paid her an affectionate attention. S. Tuckett preached & spent the day with us at the house, which passed agreeably; but we did not go away till after supper. It was indeed pleasant to reflect that Priscilla’s lot was so favoured as it seemed to be, being united with her whole heart to such a worthy & uncommonly agreeable young man. The following 3rd day, the bride folks, accompanied by her mother & sister Betsy, set out for Birmingham; previous to which the whole family had met at the old gentlewomans in Pike St, who though, not well enough to sit with us, was in tolerable health.

^{pp} Daughter of James and niece of Charles Fox. [J.F.]

Third Month. Our friend valuable Lydia Cookworthy departed this life, after a severe struggle of a few days, at her sister's in Hoe Lane. She had long been in a declining state of health, & had been at Plymouth the last few months, during the last few weeks of which, she had been mostly confined to her chamber. Previous to this she had visited her friends & assisted her sisters in moving house & in laying out their garden. Her patience was admirable, & even @ times, her lively & sensible conversation gave her friends pleasure. I paid her sisters a visit before the burial. They had shown her the most affectionate attention, & were much afflicted by her loss; yet appeared desirous of being reconciled to her deliverance from her sufferings. She was 55 years of age. The funeral was large, satisfactory, & attended by Jonathan Binns & Sally Tuckett.

About this time died the celebrated John Wesley, & thus ended the life of a man who had been the instrument of civilizing, almost from a savage state, the colliers in Kingswood & the tanners in Cornwall.

Fifth Month. I was confined by indisposition but early in sixth month got better, when my husband took me to Ivy Bridge to spend some days, but the extreme heat of the weather drove us home after one night.

Seventh Month. At the conclusion of the Quarterly Meeting after dinner at which time visited us John Williams, whom I thought very agreeable, we again went to Ivy Bridge in order to meet my brother, sister, & child on their 2nd visit. Many interruptions occurred in this visit. My brother T. was often absent a week or 10 days together. Once he went to Looe, & more than once accompanied S. Tuckett & Jonathan Binns in a religious visit in this & the neighbouring country—generally to those not of our Society. In the Ninth Month, during his absence last, my husband, sister, & self set out for Falmouth. We found our friends settled in one of the most delightful spots. I remember to have seen, except in the picturesque views of a lively imagination. The idea that I had entertained of Cornwall was that it was destitute of trees & without verdure, but this elegant house was surrounded with trees, interspersed with shrubs & evergreens. At the bottom of the lawn was a good garden stocked with wall fruit & a pinery. The dining parlour & tea room commanded, through handsome bow windows, a fine prospect of the sea—on one side unbounded, on another glittering through lofty trees. Here we were welcomed by my amiable friend, & our agreeable cousin G. C. Fox; the former just recovering a confinement from indisposition, & come down stairs to receive us with looks so delicate that it seemed as if the least exposure would occasion a relapse. The next (and for several mornings) neither she nor my sister was well enough to quit her chamber—too much resembling each other in delicacy of constitution, as well as in native refinement & manners the most attracting—unable to bear the boisterous winds of this inclement clime, yet happily favoured to desire those

enjoyments, which give an earnest of the happiness that is unmixed & pure & is as endless as it is perfect. By the time my sister & my friend were tolerably recovered, my husband was too poorly to go out for a day or two. To this succeeded a cold I took which, by confining me for a day or two, gave me an opportunity of uninterruptedly enjoying my dear C.F.'s society; for when we were able, we were obliged to visit our kind relations, & when we were not they visited us. Among these & peculiarly worthy & agreeable, was Anna Fox, sister to Edward Long Fox, she was likely soon to enter the cares of life, being about to marry a worthy man with a large family. Poor Joshua Fox looked like a little old man, & seemed hastening towards the end of his journey, but was still able to enjoy the conversation of his friends. He died before the end of the year.

Before we left Falmouth, we went to Redruth, to visit the once celebrated Catharine Phillips,⁹⁹ who seemed emerging from a state of deep suffering, & able to enjoy the society of her friends. Although incapable of moving without assistance, she could write & converse with as much good sense as before her illness; & except when she touched on the string; from which vibrated all her sorrows, she was as lively in conversation as I ever remember her to have been. Faconbridge spent one day with us at Falmouth. He was just returned from Sierra Leone, whence he had brought over a young prince⁸⁷ for education, whom he had left @ Penzance. After he had left us, intending to set out for London, he accidentally met Clarkson at the corner of a street, which gave the latter the more pleasure as he had, from the length of F's voyage feared that some accident had befallen the vessel. They both returned to us, & we had the pleasure of Clarkson's company this evening & the following day. He appeared to have suffered in his constitution, though still as ardent as ever in his pursuits, & as sanguine in his expectation of success, in the glorious cause he had undertaken. We had my brother Tuckett's company only one day, but much of Emma Berry's which was very agreeable to us.

After spending two weeks with our agreeable friends, receiving proofs of the most affectionate regard, which we gratefully felt, we left them, their little son, & a pretty prattling girl about two years old; & in bidding them farewell, I felt that I loved them & wished their welfare. We next spent two days at Wadebridge, now inhabited by Robert Fox & his lively wife. At Tavistock we were met by my brother T. who had returned to his little daughter some days before, whom the next day, @ noon, we had the pleasure to find well.

Tenth Month 10th After a hurrying morning & early dinner, we accompanied my brother & sister T. to Ashburton, on their return home, & parted the next day with an intention of soon seeing them in Bristol, & spending a little time at Bath. But a few days before they left us, when my husband & I were

alone, he expressed as he had often done, a wish that we could have lived in Bristol, which, he reminded me, he had made me an offer of doing previous to our marriage; & which I had declined, not only from the regard I had for my Plymouth friends, but also from a belief it was meant solely to oblige me, & that the change would render him less happy. This, he had often since told me was so far from the case that it would be more agreeable to him, & he believed he should have better health. But knowing I had acted for the best, I endeavoured to turn from the subject as much as I could, in this way discouraging any such ideas either in myself or husband. In this course I had persevered till this very afternoon, when it seemed as if, all at once, my powers of perseverance were gone, & I thought I felt I might give way on condition we did not leave Plymouth till after our aged mother was removed. Whether the subject or the animation with which it was persued, produced the effect on my health & spirits which immediately succeeded this interview, I know not; but from that time every constitutional burden, borne hitherto, seemed pretty much removed.

11th month. As I was packing my clothes to go to Bristol, I heard some words which raised alarming apprehensions respecting my friends there. I went down stairs with an agitated mind when after preparing me, my husband read as follows [Here follows a detailed account of a sad accident the child Esther C. Tuckett had met with by her clothes taking fire] From this morn till we set out, my mind was distressingly occupied by the mournful subject, so as almost to overwhelm me, & I fully experienced of how little efficacy it is, in point of relief, to be distant from those we love when they are in a state of suffering. We had accounts of amendment before we left home which was on the 16th. We took with us Susan Fox, whose behaviour under trials had proved her to have a great mind. She was going to be with her sister Dearman who was expecting her confinement with her first child. We reached Bristol on 7th day evening. After taking Susan to W^m Bush's drove to James' Square—an affecting way of first visiting their new abode. The dear little maid tho' having expressed much pleasure @ the thought of seeing me, seemed incapable of enjoying any-thing, & appeared very ill. Poor Polly Hall, who had many nights supported her in her arms, seemed little better; & my brother & sister looked pale & thin—no wonder—it was more so that thus circumstanced, they were not worse. In a few days, during which I saw none of my friends except the afflicted family in James' Sq^r, we went to Bath & lodged in the Abbey Green. This was a situation which afforded a quiet asylum, & gave me an opportunity of hearing most days from Bristol. Here I received a letter from my own brother, who said he had a new disorder, the Bile. I thought this likely to be produced by incessant grief. Every letter was filled with the subject ever since the few hasty lines with an account of the loss of the best of wives, whose grave he often visited; though repeated & earnest was my request to him to do so no more.

Once during our quiet residence at Bath (where our only visitor was Richard Philips) we went to Bristol, at the pressing invitation of G. Bush & S. Harford & her mother, to attend their marriage as father & mother, her own not choosing to be present, though she had given her unwilling consent. We lodged the preceeding night at J. Tucketts & on the Twelfth Month 13th went to Stoke & from thence to Lawrence Weston meeting. The house was cold & thinly attended, the company small, consisting of my husband, self, W^m & P. Bush, Sally & Edward Harford, & the bride folks. My husband & I dined at Stoke—G. Hunt only, added to the family. T. Rutter was at meeting, & both preached & prayed. After tea we accompanied the Bride to Bristol, called in James' Sqr. where we had the satisfaction of seeing the dear little maid in the parlour with her Mamma, tho' the principal wound was far from well—thence we drove to Clare St, where the Bride was very affectionately received by her husband's friends, consisting of his aunt King, P. Bush, W^m Bush & M. Clark.

The afternoon before we returned to Bath, hearing my father was poorly & now lived in Bristol, I went to see him. He came back to J.T's & drank tea with us.

Soon after our return to Bath as I was one even^g sitting alone with my husband, I received & opened a letter from Bristol, which contained the affecting account of the removal of my brother on the 7th of 10th Month, just a fortnight before the expiration of the year of his irreparable loss, which he never ceased to lament, & which, there appears little doubt undermined his constitution. The news of this event I was not at the time sensible affected me, so much as his own brief account of the deprivation of his beloved wife. Yet nature will feel when her tenderest ties are broken, however judgment may suggest that on my own account, there was in this case, no cause for sorrow. But from the time my infant tongue could lisp a brother's name, I loved him with the warmest fraternal affection. At an early period I was separated from him, which was the first affliction I had ever felt. Under successive scenes of trial, I have since had to sympathize with him; & as I think there is ground for belief that his afflictions were sanctified to him, I trust he is safely centred in that state where the voice of affliction is no more heard. Full of these thoughts, & feeling relief from those tender tears, "nature will shed when her connections are dissolved," I retired to rest, & passed the night under impressions of support, though much occupied by the thoughts of the large amiable family left in America; & the child whom I had so tenderly loved in a peculiar manner presented to my mind. Whilst I was full of these reflections, which I did not impart to my husband, he with uncommon kindness, told me that if we lived in Bristol, I should send for one of them if their uncle should think a change of situation necessary. This engaged my gratitude & contributed to my ease.

I met Patty More at the Pump Room, who, with her sister Hannah & three others, resided at Bath in the winter months. One afternoon we took tea with them, & accompanied them to hear their favourite preacher, a young man about 22 years old, once a shepherd boy.^{qq} He spoke extempore, had a good voice, his language correct, his manner easy. The chief subject this afternoon at tea time was the abolition of the slave trade. A West India planter was of the company & a sister of Lord Sheffield's. The remaining few days of our stay, my husband was confined with a cold. With him & in copying my brother's address to his children on the death of their mother—Also in visiting poor H. Bush who was very ill, I was much engaged till the last day of the year; which was the last that we spent at Bath. I never remember spending 5 or 6 weeks at any time, or in any place, so retired. For I think Rich^d Philips & H. Bush were the only persons (till I saw M. More a few days before) we met with, with whom we were acquainted. This, as I was circumstanced, exactly suited me.

O human life! how mutable; how vain;
How thy wide sorrows circumscribe thy joys.

Adoring own one cause supreme,
All just, all wise who bids what still is best,
In cloud or sunshine; whose severest hand
Wounds but to heal & chastens but to mend.

1792

First Month 1st After an early dinner we went to James' Sqr., where we were received by my sister & the child in the parlour, though the dear girl was still at times, in a very suffering state. We spent about 3 weeks in Bristol, where we visited but few of our friends. A little before our departure we had the satisfaction of seeing our friend S. Warne, who unexpectedly arrived in England, but was going to return to her husband & child. The latter, her father had had fetched from England.

27th We set out homewards. We spent near a week at Wellington. Our sister Were was nearly stripped of her children by her two married sons & only daughter residing in London. I went out only to dine at Thomas Fox's.

2nd Month 1st This day I entered my 51st year. Sensible I am that much more might have been done in the most important business of life. O that the

^{qq} There can be little doubt that this was William Jay (see his memoirs). He had not however been a shepherd boy, but was the son of a stone mason and assisted his father. H. More was just at this time bringing out her tale "The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain," and it is probable that S. Fox mistook something said in connection with the two. {J.F.}

consideration may excite to more watchfulness the few remaining days that may be yet to come. The next day which was the anniversary of our marriage, we set forward, & reached home the following day to dinner. We drank tea the same afternoon with our mother Fox who appeared languid & poorly, but my sister Fox was much better. 3rd day I received a letter from my dear deceased brother, written a little before his death. He concludes in these words, "We shall soon meet in Eternity," & should we be permitted to know each other there, may it be in an eternity of happiness! An eternity of happiness is so vast an idea for such beings as we are, that surely the consideration of being allowed to be candidates for it should lead us with the Psalmist to cry out, "Lord what is man that thou art mindful of him &c."

Fourth Month 4th Tea at Stonehouse at W^m Clark's. With this family we kept up very frequent intercourse. From this time to the 15th I spent much time with my sister E. Fox in her mother's chamber, where I found real comfort. She was very ill & not able to sit up, slept much, yet sometimes was still lively. On this day S. Tuckett arrived. She staid till after the scene closed, which was not till the 21st Inst., when full of days & full of peace, she was delivered from the feeble frame her spirit had so long inhabited, & left her surrounding friends every reason to believe she was prepared for a better habitation. The remains were, by her own desire, deposited in the grave in three days, before breakfast, attended by all her family. S. Tuckett said a few words @ the grave, & afterwards she had a solemn opportunity at the house. We all dined together, & I believe felt it a uniting season.

Fifth Month 1st S. Tuckett returned home. The separation between her & my sister E.F. was very trying, as they appeared exceedingly attached to each other.

12th I passed a trying day, having spoken to my brother J. Fox & his daughter Betsy, about our leaving Plymouth.

23rd Called to see the new wife of W^m Cookworthy (late Betsy Howard) who appeared to me both sensible & agreeable, & might be called a pretty woman. As long as we remained at Plymouth, we had frequent intercourse with them.

Sixth Month 3rd Set out for Bristol I did not intend accompanying my husband, but as the time drew near, he choose I should go. It was to see a house in Brunswick Square. We staid only one week in Bristol, & on the 15th set out after dinner, accompanied by my brother, sister, the child & Susan Fox as far as Bath, in order to see my father, with whom we drank tea, & lodged at the Christopher. The next day Susan went on with us to Plymouth.

Seventh Month 2nd S. Tuckett came again to Pike Street. This week was the Quarterly Meeting. Mary Were, A. Byrd, J. Binns & M. Bowden attended. S.J. was ill with an ulcerated sore throat. On her recovery she came to drink

tea with us, after which she had an opportunity of expressing her desire for our welfare, & preservation when separated from one another.

20th I dined with Melville Horne,¹⁰⁰ at W^m Cookworthy's who was going to Sierra Leone. I was much pleased with his company.

Eighth Month. Received an affecting account of the sudden removal of Lydia Bonville. Her loss was much lamented by the poor as well as by her friends.

5th S. Harrison & her daughter Lydia, about 13 years of age, being on a visit to her sister, they all spent the evening with us.

15th We slept in Pike St., though I was much in George St. by day; where we had before been busy in preparing to send away & dispose of our goods; which was done pretty much by the end of this week, on the fifth day of which we attended an evening meeting appointed for Martha Howarth & P. H. Gurney—the former an extraordinary minister—the latter only delivered a sentence or two, which both for matter & manner seemed perfect of its kind.

26th D. Darby & R. Young attended our morning & afternoon meeting. At the latter D.D. preached excellently. They took tea with us.

Ninth Month 2nd M. Howarth & her pleasing companion again visited Plymouth.

Much of the foregoing, as well as the remainder of our time was passed in visiting our relations & acquaintances, though taking leave of none. Some of our neighbours were persons whom my husband had long known & respected, of which number was his late partner in the bank, J. Tingham, & Dr. Young; also their valuable wives, though of different characters had both a claim to my esteem & gratitude from the kindness I had received from them. With J. & L. Prideaux we exchanged frequent visits. Her society had been a great enjoyment to me. The loss of opportunities of conversation with such a friend, & indeed such friends as herself & valuable husband, was much regretted by us. Her dear little son had engaged my affection. He was turned of 5 years old, & the eldest of 5 fine children.

15th J. Binns came in the evening, & lodged in Pike St. He preached at both meetings the next day, & appointed one in the evening, which I was not able to attend, being so much affected while tea drinking in Hoe Lane, with the thoughts of parting with my friends there, that I went home. We spent a quiet evening with J. Binns. The next morning, after a hasty breakfast, I went over to the Pope's Head to wait for the chaise.

On the 20th we reached Bristol, where I had the inexpressible satisfaction to find my sister T. uncommonly well, as were my brother & the child, who all

welcomed us to Bristol; but finding them just going to meeting & M. Routh in town, we persuaded them to go & staid with Esther. We spent a comfortable evening together, [my brother] reading to us a letter from America with a most satisfactory account of the conduct of our orphan nephews & nieces. What were my sensations on this occasion & on finding myself once more in my native place, with the addition of the society of a most affectionate husband, are not to be described. I now found the great advantage of discouraging a disposition to anticipate; which I was naturally apt to do, but on removing, had taken much pains to avoid. My pleasure therefore, had not been spent beforehand; & my mind having been in such a state of feeling, for & with my friends at Plymouth, was another way of accounting for it. We staid 3 weeks at my brother T's & removed to Brunswick Sq. on Tenth Month 11th As I contemplated my situation I felt inexpressible comfort, accompanied with a fervent desire to be possessed of a grateful heart; & it was much my wish, that the merciful donor of these gifts would grant the power properly to enjoy them, & that His blessing might accompany them. From this period to the present date,—

12th Month 31st, the business of unpacking, settling &c with receiving our friends, dining at Cousin Dimsdale's & at Clifton, constantly employed our time. On the 7th of 11th (?) month we received a visit from the friends now engaged from house to house; & soon after, had another of the same kind from Sam^l Dyer & W^m Pink. 28th We went to Bath to see our sister Fox, who was there for her health. My brother & sister T. exchanged visits with us weekly. 31st (12 mo) we spent the even^g with them, where we met with W^m Lewis, a religious, sensible man. At H. Rogers', I met Sukey Southall (Late Beaufoy) who had married a young man for love, 3 weeks since. She looked modest & pretty—was not yet 18. I close this year, though favoured with many blessings, under a sense of the justice of the following

“True happiness is not the growth of earth,
 “The soil is fruitless if you seek it there;
 “’Tis an exotic of celestial birth,
 “And never blooms but in celestial air.”

1793

First Month. “Just entered into another year,—so have thousands; perhaps millions, who will not see its close. In the midst of the hurries & changes of this imperfect state, we glide swiftly along towards one that is unchangeable; & soon shall have as little connection with the scenes thro' which we are now passing, as we have with what happened before the flood. All that appears interesting in the present life, abstracted from its influence upon our internal character & our everlasting allotment, will soon be as unreal as the visions of the night.”

Similar were my feelings at the commencement of this year & the close of the last. My sister & the child spent it with us. My brother was absent on canal business. The latter end of the month, the frost was so severe that it affected & sometimes confined me.

30th To Stoke, to see aunt Lloyd who appeared to be gradually declining.

Second Month 1st To Bath to see our friend C. Fox who appeared very low & poorly. We spent an hour with my father. Many were the palls to this day's enjoyment.

18th The blind school was opened, to which I paid a very pleasing visit. This useful Institution was begun by Shurmer Bath, who persuaded my husband to join him in active service & to become Treasurer. Two girls, about 14 years old, were the first pupils; there was also a little boy, & 2 more were soon added. The next day called on Peggy Waring, who had lately lost her mother. Soon after, on hearing my father was ill, we went to Bath, but found it a mistake. The day before, under great depression of spirits, I paid a visit to poor Betsy Bradley, who was in a decline. Her change of situation was great, & her cheerful resignation in adversity, with her industry to maintain her father, who had been the means of reducing her to poverty, formed a truly deserving character. Eliphas Jackson called with a brother John Jackson who was come to reside in Bristol.

Third Month 2nd Heard that my sister Fox & Susan were at G. Bush's.

2nd day they spent with us. On 7th day it appeared that Esther had the measles. In consequence of my sister being confined with her, I was requested to attend the agreeable wife of the agreeable B. {?illegible} Barclay with six children, all girls, to meeting from the White Hart. Though having heard much of this couple, I was not disappointed. Indeed, a female of a distinguished form & an animated manner, appears in a very interesting point of view surrounded by a fine young family. On the following 3rd day, I had the pleasure of welcoming my valued friends G.C. & C. Fox to the abode of a most affectionate husband. The satisfaction she expressed at seeing me, after a life of unsettlement, thus agreeably situated was, I trust, received by me under a grateful sense to the author of all our blessings. Often as I step along thro' the wilderness of this world, I reflect with sensations not communicable by words, on the comforts with which I am favoured. & when it is my lot, on many account, to go on my way mourning, though unseen by the eye of man & as the days approach when, by reason of increasing infirmities, I may expect to number among those from whom little pleasure is to be expected, I feel more & more the blessings of an outward habitation which affords opportunities sometimes quietly to meditate; & at such seasons I am ready to cry out, "What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits?" Mary Fox & A. Young came with their brother & sister. The

children were left at Bath on account of the measles. They staid with us from the 12th to the 18th, which included the Quarterly Meeting. But the part of the visit most enjoyed by me, was one morn^g when I was indulged with C.F.'s conversation alone. On the day our friends left us I called on M. Beck, who was lately become a widow, after having lived happily with an excellent husband more than 50 years. The deceased Joseph Beck, was a man of a most respectable character, who though of hidden, retired worth, performed his religious & moral duties in the true spirit of Christianity. From his exemplary resignation in a long, declining state, "patience appeared to have its perfect work," & I believe we may safely, on Scripture ground, pronounce him to be of the number to whom our Lord said—"Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you ... for I was hungry & ye fed me, naked, & ye clothed me &c." There is something in this portion of scripture, particularly in the answer given to the disciple's query, "Lord when saw we thee in prison, &c." where their divine master says, "In as much as ye did it to the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me," so condescending, so encouraging to us to devote our perishable riches to the relief of those who, we know not why, are permitted to want the comforts of life, while we, many of us, are thoughtlessly profuse in the use of its luxuries, nay even in their abuse, to the great injury of both soul & body. Surely, as stewards, such will have a dreadful account to give in an awful day which is fast approaching, when it shall be said to them, "Steward, give up thy stewardship; for thou mayst be no longer steward."

27th Called to take leave of Thomas Rutter, who was going on a religious visit to Ireland. It was with very sincere wishes for his preservation & safe return, I parted from him. The habitual friendly intercourse I had held with him from the season of youth, had created a sort of relationship regard; & it commenced at a period when impressions are lasting. The sweetness which often accompanied my mind then, when sitting under his ministry, I still remember, as well as similar feelings after returning to my outward habitation in the country, when I loved to be silent lest the heart tendering impressions should be lost. O that I could persuade those who are in the bloom of youth, to be on their watch, to embrace the offers of Love, & look to a blessed Saviour for help. For such may be assured that the great work of salvation is generally much easier before they have reached the meridian of their days. These are important truths & well worthy attention.

28th Accompanied M. Beck to the Dispensary Committee. Found there able hands sufficient for the occasion.

Fourth Month 3rd My husband & myself went to Bath to spend a few days with G.C. & C. Fox, but I had too much anticipated uninterrupted enjoyment of my friend's company, & was therefore disappointed; as necessary engagements of various sorts occurred. While there George Wither brought

us an account of the death of Anna Hingston (late Fry).^{rr} Cousin Dimsdale was at Bath at the same time, with whom I called on Lydia Harwood a young woman united in affection with G. Withy. I wished as I had often done that parents would more consult their children's than their own inclination in the important affair of marriage. It appears to me that nothing short of the want of good character, & the means of a comfortable subsistence, can warrant opposition to a child's wishes. At Bath I first saw old David Barclay, though he married^{ss} a relation of mine whom he had lost a few months before. He was now in a state of anxiety on account of a granddaughter, the representative of his only child, who died soon after her birth. I thought him a fine old gentleman with a placid look; but though handsome, he rather wanted animation. After our return home we attended the burial of A. Hingston. In a few days I paid her mother & sister Sally a visit, who was now her only surviving daughter, & a very affectionate & attentive one. The next day I went to M. Lloyd, whose mother was thought too ill to see me, as she appeared near the close, & it was feared the sight of me would remind her of her grand-children whom she was very desirous of seeing, & who were daily expected from America. On the 14th, before I came down stairs, I received an account of her removal the preceeding evening. When I heard this, I thought if they should arrive on this day, it was the only one on which I had not wished to see them. Yet probability favoured it, as the wind, which had been contrary, was now changed. Various & interesting were my feelings, when my sister after breakfast called with an account that the Westbury was arrived, & that two of our nieces, with George, were in it. I did not go to meeting, but they did not arrive from Lamplighters' Hall till 12 o'clock. As the coach stopped, reflections crowded fast upon me, & my sensations were too strong to allow me to meet them at the door. On their entrance my eye sought, but sought in vain for my dear Hetty, from whom I had been separated 11 years. It beheld three strangers, for such were their persons become. Yet though the casket was so matured by time, when I saluted & bid my beloved Hetty welcome, our tears mutually flowed. I next recognized in the person of Jane the most perfect resemblance of her mother, though she was a handsome likeness. She was a fine girl between 14 & 15, & very tall of her age. George's features did not so much call up the idea of his mother, but his manners reminded me of his father; & though only 16, his person & conversation made him appear to be 20. Next morning my husband & my brother, went to Bath to fetch my father to Westbury, & left him there, much pleased with his situation, which induced my sister & me to

^{rr} [Sister of the late J. S. Fry of Redland. J. F.]

^{ss} She was the daughter of Sampson & Rachel Lloyd of Birmingham. A vol. of poems for the young, selected by her, was published after her death; to the 2nd edition of which was added a short account of her life. Rachael Barclay née Lloyd was Aunt to Richard Lloyd see 20/5/1794, pp. 292.

take over his grand-children next afternoon to drink tea with him, but our visit did not turn out as we expected. We had first driven to Henbury, the young people expressing a desire to see the place where they had pleasantly passed the days of infancy & childhood. Hetty recalled many things, & visited an old woman who appeared much the same [as when she saw her last] & was sitting in her old chair.

Samuel Emlen had arrived in Bristol on the 14th & I had called upon him at A. Till Adams', with my sister, the next evening. He did not look worse than when we last parted, when I never expected to meet him again in this world.

On 7th day, just as my husband, George C, & Abr Lloyd returned from the funeral Capt. F. entered with a little flying fish which he presented to Hetty C. His manner in giving it, as well as hers in receiving it, joined to some observations I had before made, convinced me he had taken care to secure her affections before he had delivered her up to her friends; by which he had deprived them of much pleasure in her company, as she seemed far from being happy. Finding my young companion so entangled, I thought it right to ask her some questions. Her answers were candid & unreserved. She told me he had early in the voyage solicited her hand in marriage, I could plainly perceive it was too late for any interference of mine, though I had doubts of the suitability of their dispositions. On the most mature consideration & after consulting my husband, I concluded to be passive in the business & wait for his speaking, which he told her he intended to do. In the mean time he visited her openly as a lover at our house; for about a month & appeared exceedingly attached to her. In this interval he informed her he was going on a voyage of 9 weeks with very advantageous prospects, which should be his last, & that previous to his departure (which would be in about 10 days) he should solicit the consent of her friends to receive her hand in marriage after his return. Yet a few days before he sailed he left her without assigning one existing cause, though not without informing her of his intentions, to which he told her he was induced by the wind of a fortune sufficient to enable him with prudence to fulfil his engagement. After this interview with him I found her exceedingly affected; yet after the first emotions she bore it better than I expected. This I attributed to her never having been encouraged to indulge grief & her having received lessons in the school of adversity. A near prospect of marriage with a man of amiable dispositions of whom she was deprived by death 3 or 4 years ago, had taught her the uncertainty of all worldly expectations. Jane, who was with her aunt Mary L. till an opportunity should offer of her going to Scotland, was our frequent visitor, whose affectionate disposition engaged my regard. George was soon settled with Anthony Fletcher to learn the sugar business. My narrative on the above subject having now brought me to the 15th of 5th mo. I must go back to the 23rd of 4th mo.

23 In the afternoon, Sam^l Emlen drank tea with us. He had preached that morning, at meeting & again on 5th day evening.

First day morning, S. Emlen stood long & referred to the several visits he had paid us in the course of his life; on which subject he was very interestingly engaged. In the evening E. Fox & S. Tuckett returned from Wales, & after this night they were mostly together by day & night till Sally left Bristol.

Fifth Month 5th was our Yearly Meeting. John Townsend & Job Scott &c. attended. The people seemed to place their whole dependance on the ministry of the latter, & he was wholly silent except at Kingsweston. But the expectation of his being at Frenchay, induced me to accompany my sister E.F., S. Tuckett, Mary Fox of Falmouth, & Betsy Were of Wellington, We dined & took tea at M. Becks. After dinner we had a meeting, J. Townsend preached & afterwards a lad of 16, a son of Thos Huntely with whom I was much pleased. After 5th day evening meeting I followed Job Scott to John Lury's, being unwilling not to hear the voice of such an extraordinary man as fame reported him to be. A large company were assembled, yet I had about a quarter of an hour's conversation with him, in which I found him very free & open; & he appeared to me to be very sensible & free from bigotry.

12th At the morn^g meeting we had again S. Emlen who recommended us to read the 3rd chapter of Nahum¹⁰¹ from the 8th [to the] 13th verse. After meeting, as I was walking up the yard, I overtook him alone. He said he was looking for me, & was going to take leave of H. Stevenson & her mother, as he was leaving for London next day. I did not accompany him, but feeling an uneasiness in not doing so, I went (E.F. with me) after him. We found him rising from his seat to go home, but on our entering he resumed it. After a short silence he addressed me by name as "one with whom he had formerly gone up to the House of the Lord, as one whose kindness to his dear Betsy he gratefully remembered. He then addressed E.F. as recollecting with similar sensations her sisterly kindness & regard to himself formerly at Plymouth. He concluded with jointly recommending greater devotedness & a strict attention to confess Christ before men, even though it should make us appear as fools—also an attention to that which supports in time of trial; after which he took an affectionate leave, & we left him at his quarters in Union St. I regretted that I had no more of his pleasing & profitable society, having received only two visits from him—one to dinner. He was very kind to E. H. Champion, of whom he took much notice, calling her his countrywoman.

My brother & sister with S. Tuckett &c. went for London, in whose absence dear Esther T. was committed to my charge & staid with Polly Hall [her nurse] at our house until their return. It was about this time that the affair,

before mentioned, between Capt. F. & Hetty C. terminated & she much engaged my tender sympathy, reviving in a lively manner the affection I felt for her in her infant days.

Eliphaz Jackson drank tea & took leave of us, determining to return to Looe, nothing having offered for him @ Bristol.

19th Thomas Cash was excellently engaged at meeting & at the next third & first day meetings.

26th David Barclay & his grandson dined with us.

Sixth Month 2nd T. Cash was in & about Bristol up to this date. We were much pleased with his company, one afternoon & two evenings at our house. The last evening was that previous to his departure, when he had something to say after supper, at which were present E. Fox & my brother & sister Tuckett, who returned from London on the 2nd.

About this time, by means of her frequent attendance at the blind school, I became acquainted with Elizabeth Johnson,¹⁰² who devoted her time, & fortune to the service of the poor. She was in connection with John Wesley's society.¹⁰³

6th The benevolent Schools walked &c. On 7th day I attended the burial of John Taylor's wife from his house in James' Square the house in which my brother & sister Champion lived on their first being married. Soon after we took tea with the widower, who appeared to be a man of sense & learning, & of a humble mind. He had twice said something in meetings. He came from the Socinian Society¹⁰³ to ours by conviction, & was become a man of self denying exemplary piety; & his behaviour in his loss evinced he was in possession of "a religion of comforts."

12th In the afternoon I was much entertained by our neighbour Lunell,¹⁰⁴ who accidentally took tea with us & staid till we went to meeting.

Seventh Month. A Scotch friend & her companion in the ministry visited Bristol. The heat of the weather from the 7th to the 18th was so intense that the thermometer was mostly 86 or 87 in the shade. It disordered numbers—my husband so much that I became uneasy about him. The butchers killed so little meat that a supply for the family was sometimes difficult [to obtain]. The release from this oppressive heat was very enjoyable. S. Stevenson in town & at a woman's meeting on the 30th which I thought much favoured. At

¹⁰² Probably she was the person referred to by John Wesley in his Journal (as quoted by his biographer Watson) under date of 26 June 1783; where he writes "I observe of all the pious people in Holland that without any rule but the word of God, they dress as plainly as Miss March did formerly & Miss Johnson does now." She is spoken highly of in Mary Dudley's memoirs p. 25 (Edition 1825) [J.F.]

this meeting Thomas Bonville & Ann Ash declared their intentions of marriage. S.S. was afterwards engaged in a solemn Testimony, which I was thankful to be able to feel a lively one. My friend E. Bevington at Bristol.

Eighth Month. Our valued friend Thomas Rutter returned, when I called to welcome him home. One day Anna Fry, her daughter & E. Bevington drank tea with us. On another, while Lovel Fox was with us we breakfasted at Blaize Castle.

24th Heard that Capt. F's vessel was wrecked at Archangel. One afternoon we drank tea at my brother T's with David Barclay & his granddaughter Agatha Gurney. In a visit Hetty & I paid her at Clifton some weeks before, we had admired the fineness of her form & the sweetness of her countenance, which was now improved by amended health, but with all the symmetry of her features, I was best pleased with the person of M. Hanbury in whom was united animation with sweetness of countenance. She resembled her brother Sampson & they had enough of their amiable mother's look to recall her idea to my mind.

Ninth Month 1st M. Dudley¹⁰⁵ in town & preached, & again on 5th day evening; & on the following afternoon, at a meeting appointed for that purpose. I called at T.R.'s to see her, & she appeared to me to look as well & as handsome as at the time of her marriage 18 years ago.

3rd Third day. Thomas Bonville & Ann Ash were united in marriage before a crowded audience. Both spoke distinctly & solemnly. T.R. preached & prayed excellently.

7th M. Lloyd brought Jane Champion having heard of a family going to Scotland from London. They were to set out for that place the following day. Hetty was much affected at the thoughts of parting with her sister, yet sensible of the propriety of her going to Lady Hyndford's, it being for that purpose she came to England. Poor Jane I very much pitied whilst I admired the firmness of her behaviour; though it was discoverable she felt much at being about to be separated from all she had hitherto loved & lived with, & at so early an age, being not yet fifteen. In this week I only went out of the house about the Stranger's Friend, an excellent institution. About this time the widow Ash had a paralytic stroke. Her daughter [Bonville] was on a journey with her husband, but returned soon enough to nurse her mother for a considerable time before her removal.

19th M. Lloyd returned from London, from whence she had set her niece out two days after their arrival. The dear girl was poorly, which she afterwards acknowledged she believed was occasioned by parting with her friends & going with strangers but I hope Lady H., as she has promised, will be a mother to her—visited H. Rutter & S. Cookworthy in their chambers: both had sons—S.C.'s a beautiful child who lived only a few weeks.

22nd Arrived J. P. Dearman & little James Fox on his way to Burford School. They staid a few days. Hetty & I visited Mary Waring who was confined with a girl.

About this time began the riots respecting the Bridge Tolb{ridge}. Not thinking of any inconvenience attending, we went to drink tea in Corn Street, from whence at the beat of the drum to arms we hastily returned home before 8 o' clock. Dreadful were the effects of this evening, many lives being lost. One young man in Castle Street of our Society expressing a wish to step out, to see what was going on, to his sister, she advised him to stay at home; to which he replied he would be soon back: & so it proved, for in a short time he was brought home a corpse, having received a shot from a considerable distance.

Tenth Month 15th A letter was put into my hands, which, from something Hetty said in delivering it, I opened with a trembling hand; & found it contained an account that my poor, afflicted sister Fox had been suddenly released from all her sufferings early in the morning of the 13th inst. My spirits were much affected nor were they raised by a visit I paid my poor father at Westbury. I felt a strong desire to be with my brother Fox in his affliction, to which proposal my husband consented & said he would go in about 2 weeks. It was intended to leave Hetty C. at home, but a circumstance occurred which determined her going with us. Before we set out we had the company of R. Newbury, two sisters & two nieces to breakfast. One of the latter, whose name was Forbes, was celebrated for her taste in drawing & other accomplishments. Nancy Fletcher dined with us, who was deservedly admired for her amiable disposition & good sense. Her person was also pleasing. She was the only daughter of Anthony Fletcher.

George Withy spent the evening with us a little time previous to our setting out; & falling into silence, under which I felt uncommon sympathy with him, he began on the sorrows of time, & the blessedness of being qualified for happiness beyond "this vale of tears," & how, above all things desirable it is to obtain the favour of him who can bless with little or blast with much. He then affectionately addressed Hetty C. on her late trial, who was much affected. My [heart] joined in [his] sincere desires that it might produce the best effect, even to leading her to a devotion of her youthful days to his service who can sanctify every dispensation. At this time died of a fever Robert Fox of Wadebridge. He left an afflicted young widow expecting her third child. Shurmur [Bath] & G. Champion, both frequent visitor, spent the evening before we left home; with us.

Eleventh Month 1st Set out for Plymouth. The particulars of our journey & reception at our sister E.F.'s where we lodged, I sent in a letter to my sister Tuckett. We found our brother Fox truly a mournful widower, yet sensible of the best support. At his house we spent much of our time, & he spent some

evenings with us. We also generally visited our relations & particular friends, amongst whom we met but little change since we left them.

30th Elizabeth Drinker^{uu} & S. Rudd came to Pike Street. The former was much oppressed on account of the Yellow Fever then raging in Philadelphia, where she had left a husband & an only child about 19 years of age.

Twelfth Month 2nd We left Plymouth. I look back with satisfaction on our visit, as affording opportunity of a renewal of regard to valued friends & relations. The general opinion of his relatives that my husband looked well, after having passed the 4 seasons in Bristol, was very gratifying to me. We reached home on the 5th.

On 7th day, after our return, I called to see W^m Bush, who had lost his valuable wife in our absence—a loss of which he seemed very sensible. I afterwards at my brother T.'s. heard a most affecting & excellent letter written about Job Scott, with an account of the last few days of his life by Abraham Shackleton.¹⁰⁶ My mind was much affected by these interesting particulars of the closing scene of this extraordinary man & minister. 4th day J. & C. Tuckett at tea. I ever loved her society when I could get it free from the interruptions of her children, which she was too fond a mother to give me an opportunity of doing often. She appeared to be an improving character in the best things.

6th day My brother T. received a letter with an account of the death of John Lloyd Champion from his uncle J. Lloyd in Charlestown. After mentioning it as an event for which he was unprepared, he adds, "I am under the greatest concern for the death of my nephew, after a very short illness 11th of September. When I consider the irreparable loss his brothers & sisters have sustained, the tears steel down my cheeks, & my affection is sharpened by my recollection of his merits. He was an excellent youth; on every occasion he manifested an inflexible integrity. I had intended him to have taken charge of my estate, so that when I had taken my final leave, he might have been capable to make the most of it for those who would have been joint partakers with him in the property. My afflictions began at an early period & have continued till my locks are white, & I am on the verge of life. Nevertheless, I continue to say to an all-gracious God, 'Thy will be done.' I have desired Richard to hire a house in Camden & take his sisters to live with him. He is a well-disposed good young man in whom I have confidence he is worthy the charge he has undertaken." We soon broke the affecting news to George & Hetty. Both seemed sensibly to feel it. Hetty was in great grief the whole evening. But had it not been for what I felt for her, I could almost have rejoiced on my dear John's account, that he was taken from a

^{uu} She lived not to return, but closed her earthly labours in peace. [Note by S. Fox.]

situation so little suited to his guileless soul. Surely great is the kindness of his Heavenly Father, who had, even in his infant years, taught his tongue to lisp His praise; nor did He forsake him in the season of youth, still preserving him from evil on every hand. He had nearly completed his 21st year.

About this time, or soon after Anna Goldney, & Maria Clark called & prevailed with us to accompany them to dinner. We found the good old gentlewoman not in as good spirits as usual; yet she seemed pleased with our company, & I was more than usually pleased to be with her. 7th day morn^g, I called to see Elizth Drinker & S. Rudd; the former low & poorly; & nearly silent while in Bristol.

25th We dined at my brother's with the Corn Street family & G. Champion. The next day Richard Philips dined with us. He was so agreeable that it revived in my mind a wish many of his friends felt for him that he had made a better estimate of happiness by walking in a path where he would have been more likely to find it, than he had lately done.

John Williams (who frequently came to see us) Charles Fox, D^r Fox, G. Champion, & George Withy to tea. The latter staid the evening. T. & A. Bonville paid us a visit, & I thought they looked suitable.

I find myself at the close of the year surrounded by blessings, & to all the temporal ones derived from the kind attention of a most affectionate husband, [is added] the society of an amiable niece to whom I had many years felt a maternal attachment. With a heart overflowing with gratitude for innumerable & undeserved favours—a call for never ceasing thankfulness to that Almighty Friend who forsook me not in seasons of distress, I close with a hope that the possessions of these blessings may not tend to weaken the mind & disqualify it for bearing trials yet to come; but that considering the present season only as a rest, by the way, I may be enabled to keep on the watch against the enemies of my own house—even those of my own heart—that I may be “greatly cautious of prosperity” on the one hand, & on the other shut out unnecessary apprehensions, so as not to interrupt the proper enjoyment of present blessings. Then, though the heathen rage, I shall not fear, but keeping in my proper allotment know experimentally, that “in quietness & confidence is our strength.”

1794

4th day 1st of the new year. The impressions on waking this morning, as well as in hearing my husband read in the Bible as usual, were such as made me forcibly feel the truths contained in the following beautiful lines:-

When all thy mercies, O my God,

My rising soul surveys;
Transported with the view, I'm lost
In wonder, love, & praise.
O how shall words with equal warmth,
The gratitude declare,
That glows within my ravish'd heart?
But thou canst read it there.

Under these impressions, I received my brother, sister, & the child to dinner, & with them spent an agreeable day.

6th day evening on my brother's returning from Westbury, he called to inform us that, soon after he had left my father remarkably well, he was suddenly seized, & for some time in a state of insensibility, from which he soon recovered as well as from another attack of the same kind. The following 3rd day I went with S. Harford to pay him a visit. This week heard of the death of the amiable wife of Robert Barclay. The next day Ann Heath married to John Grace, & the next afternoon William Arch drank tea with us, whom I had not seen for many years. The following day M. Hancock spent with us. She was come to settle her brother at (?) Dr. Fox's. The following 1st day, we heard that my poor father appeared sinking fast, though he again revived. On the 30th We all paid him a visit, which was a great relief to me. In a few days (the beginning of the 2nd month) he was released; about an hour before my brother & sister got to his lodgings. His remains were interred in Redclift burial ground on the 12th. My mind was considerably affected with this event, & received consolation from being informed by a simple-minded young woman who attended him, that the night preceeding his departure, he was earnestly engaged in prayer. 6th day 17th of 1st mo., (to which time I must go back) my husband read T. Bonville's advertisement of the house for sale, in which the widow Ash lately lived & died, & felt an inclination to make the purchase; though he had before refused it, knowing I did not like James' Square, which I wished him to pay no attention to, as it appeared to me to be a suitable house & garden for him. This day my mind was much occupied about parting with a young woman who lived with us as upper servant. The giving a servant warning ever appeared to me a matter of more importance than it is generally made of, as it often produces a considerable change in the discharged—as happened in the present instance. But I thought myself justified in parting with this young woman, who hired herself to go to America with Thomas Clifford's family, & left a worthy, aged grandmother, who had been a mother to her.

18th My husband went to T. Bonville's, & brought back the keys of the house, much pleased with the purchase he had agreed to make. He gave for it £800 with the fixtures. In the course of this month my aunt C. was so ill her recovery was not expected.

2nd mo 1st I received a letter from F. Pinnock who, with her husband, was gone to live with a person of fortune who was in a state of separation from her husband, & in order to conceal her only child, a girl about 13, was retired to some place which she kept quite concealed. J. Pinnock quitting his business with so much secrecy & joining with the proposal made him, without suffering his wife to consult any of her friends, gave them real concern. I called on her poor mother, now in her 85th year. On this day I attained [completed] my 52nd year. I write this on the following, the anniversary of that on which 4 years ago, I became a happy wife. I trust I feel an ardent desire to make grateful returns.

4th day, in our usual visit at my brother's we met A. Till Adams who read to us, she said, by the desire of S. Emlen, an excellent letter from Job Scott written to his friends in America in his last illness. The next morning Elizth Johnson called upon me & found me low in mind. She told me she was weak in body, but had such a constant sense of the supporting presence of her Lord, from whom she received such refreshing draughts, & her soul seemed so absorbed in love, that she was ready to believe she should soon be called home. Yet she appeared truly humble, while she thus mentioned her state. I thought she might say with the Psalmist, "though my flesh & my heart fail, thou art the strength of my life & my portion for ever." In this month my husband began to repair the house he had bought, which much occupied his time.

28th To Clifton in the morn^g to see the good old gentlewoman, who appeared to be breaking fast, though in full possession of her faculties. She was but just able to get from her chamber to the study, supported between two, & did not rise till noon. At this time died the widow Vandawall in her 83rd year. She had in her past life experienced pretty much the inconvenience of a strait income & the possession of great affluence; for in her first marriage she had not the means of gratifying her ambition, but in the 2nd a plentiful fortune & very indulgent husband fell to her lot. Some years ago he left her a rich widow, with a son & daughter of a former husband's. The latter days of her life seemed her best days, as a love for religious friends seemed very prevalent, & she became a pretty constant attender of meetings. She died in lodgings at Bath, where her son resided & where I had paid her a visit the last time I was there. Her daughter, a widow with a fine girl, her only surviving child, was seeking health at Lisbon.

3rd mo 2nd Much pleased with the following from Whitehead's Life of John & Charles Wesley.¹⁰⁷ The latter says, "I consulted W^m Law, the sum of whose advice was, 'renounce yourself and be not impatient'." Second day, my sister & self went once more to visit our ancient friend A. Goldney, who appeared still more altered & declining; she conversed with us cheerfully in

her chamber, after dinner. She seemed favoured with resignation under a knowledge of her declining state. She took an affectionate leave of us.

4th mo 7th Heard from R. Simpson, in my way to S. Harford's, that my kind friend A. Goldney was released this afternoon, & as a shock of corn fully ripe, was gathered, I trust & believe, into the heavenly garner as it appeared to me, as to others who had an intimate knowledge of her worth; that she had acted up to the light & knowledge bestowed more than most; & I have long been of opinion that great sacrifices were not required of her, because her will did not stand in opposition to them. Her understanding was good, her piety sincere, her virtues many—but wanted refinement to recommend them except to those who were able to value them for their intrinsic worth. She was within 2 weeks of 87 years of age, confined to her bed only a few days, & retained her senses to the last. Her benevolent actions were such that her loss will be much felt by many. The next 7th day my sister, M. Lloyd, Hetty C., & myself drank tea with Anna Goldney & her niece. I left the house with regret; the remembrance of many past scenes I had met with there, even from childhood, affected my mind with tenderness. We all sympathized with Anna G. who was to leave it the day after the funeral which was fixed for the next day at Redclift. Hetty & I took a walk to attend it, my husband & brother being invited guests. At the grave T. Rutter preached excellently. John Taylor added a short lively testimony.

22nd Henry Tuke & W^m Crouch came to visit families here.

25th Hannah Fox, the wife of Richard Fox of Falmouth, dined with us—a religious agreeable woman. First-day, we drank tea with Thos. Binns. He was come, with his family, to take to the school.

The latter end of this (4th) month, my husband, myself, & R. Simpson & his wife accompanied George Withy & Lydia Harwood to Mo. Mt. He afterwards dined with us.

5th mo The beginning of this month Emma Berry came & joined us at my brother T's at supper. She slept at our house 3 weeks. Poor Fidy [Pinnock her sister] sometimes called, but it was easy to perceive she was not happy.

4th The Yearly Meeting, much crowded, & several good Testimonies delivered. Third day afternoon I called at my brother's to have a little of H. Tuke's, & W^m C.'s company; but not feeling comfortable I returned home & went late to meeting; and, from the seat I occupied, I took cold, which produced rheumatism, I was confined the remainder of the week & very lame from my hip being affected. From this I soon got better, but under it was favoured with such a constant sense of outward blessings, as to feel very comfortable. W^m Simon & Mary Prior also attended the meetings. Sarah Tregelles & Fanny Binns once breakfasted with us. Mary Gillet, her brother John Gillet, a young lawyer, lately come to settle among us, Betsy W. of

Ulfcomb, & Sam^l Were, all dined with us. On the 4th day, added to our usual guests, was John Taylor, whose conversation generally proved both pleasing & instructive. The next day Aunt Berry & Emma dined with us.

17th My brother T. set out for the London Yearly Meeting.

2nd day, my aunt C., M.D., & Patty Dallaway dined with us. Patty D's, brother was gone to Constantinople. He had left her with a relation in Bristol, & intended to return in 5 years; but, she wished during that time to do something for herself. She had procured a situation as governess in a family at Greenwich, but was obliged to quit it for want of health.

20th Rich^d Lloyd^{vv} came unexpectedly to dinner. He retained his modesty, which joined to good sense, & the manners of a gentleman, made him very pleasing. Though he spoke little, his attention was uncommon, which he this day manifested, by accompanying Hetty C. to fetch home a little dog which we had lost 2 days, about which, observing us solicitous, he appeared interested.^{ww} J. Biddle¹⁰⁸ was with him. Next 2nd day I went to tea to A. Fry's Berkeley Sq., where we met Anna, & her infant daughter, little Anna—a very pretty child.

27th We went with G. Withy & L.H. to the 2nd Mo. Mtg., after which both dined with us. She appeared though reserved, to possess much firmness of mind; which her steady attachment to her friend, through many difficulties, had fully manifested. Next day, in the evening, James Fox Jun. came from Burford school to spend the vacation time. He staid with us 7 weeks, & appeared a sensible agreeable lad, tho' yet much of the school boy.

30th My brother T. returned from London. I had been very anxious in his absence on acct. of my sister being poorly; & therefore the more rejoiced on the occasion.

Sixth Mo. 3rd was married John Newman to Mary Simpson. Sam^l Randal & Francis Fox dined with us. They brought a pretty lad, a younger son of Jos. Sparkes who had been dead some years.

5th Robert Lawson was interred from Friar's Meeting in the work-house yard.

^{vv} Doubtless the son of Sampson of Borderley b. 2/8/1728 who m. Rachael dau. of Samuel Barnes Ety of London who d. in 1814. S.L. died on 27/12/1807 was father of Samuel grandfather of Geo. B. Richard was born 6/6/72 and m. Elizabeth Harman. Her book pp. XXXIV. {note by Theodore Naish?}

^{ww} John Biddle married Rich^d Lloyd's sister Elizabeth, & Joseph Biddle, Agatha. {note by Theodore Naish?}

11th There was a general illumination. Esther spent the day with me, her father & mother not returning till evening from the Quarterly Meeting at Taunton.

17th Third-day. Attended by invitation the marriage of George Withy & L. Harwood, & dined with them at Lawrence Weston. We called in our way home to see the house which my brother built at Lawrence Weston & once inhabited.

23rd Hetty C. & myself paid the Bride visit, & it was with real pleasure. I had an opportunity of congratulating G. & L.W. in their own abode. Much tried this week with distressing occurrences; one of which was my husband being poorly. Called at J. Lury's to see M. Ridgeway, who preached the next morning. The whole of her discourse was calculated to encourage the weak, animate the youth, & warn the worldly-minded. At the evening meeting she began thus—"Blow the trumpet in Zion &c."

Seventh Mo 1st M.R. her companion, & A.T.A.[dams] drank tea with us, at which nothing particular passed. She preached again the next First-day twice. Part of this day the Thermometer @ 84°. Soon after I went with my sister, to see Lydia Reed, who appeared to be a patient sufferer.

19th Drank tea, for the first time, in the alcove of the new house. For a little time after this, I was poorly (as was my husband & Hetty) & often in that low spot which sends the weary soul to seek for something more than it can find in the objects with which it is surrounded even for a little of that meat which can alone nourish its best life.

31st My brother & sister set out for Looe, The same day went with Hetty C. & M. Dallaway, as far as Berkeley Sq., in their way to Stoke. Spent a social hour & then returned. In my walk met with painful claims to my compassion. Surrounded as we are in this state of existence with such claims, how can any, "be at ease in their professions," that are endowed with the powers of sympathy, without imparting to those who want it—more especially under the consideration that they are only entrusted for a limited time uncertain in its duration. From this time to the 16th of Eighth Month, I was busy in preparing to move house; though in this interval I spent part of a day with Anna Fry,¹⁰⁹ at her particular request, her daughters being in London. I found her labouring under trying complaints, which I offer consider a call for patience—but I am sensible I have more bodily strength.

11th G. & L. Withy & his mother returned our visit. Emma Berry was gone to Bath to meet our friend C. Fox, she wishing to see her. I set out on the 7th day previous to the 2nd on which we were to move house. I walked to Corn Street, & went in the Oxford Mail with pleasant company; & with much the same sensations as in the days of my youth when I had something very desirable in view, expecting from my mind & body, much the same services

as at Twenty years of age. The events & consequent reflections of this day afforded me a useful lesson of humiliation, convincing me that the strength of the mortal part was more decreased than the immortal was improved. I found my friend C. Fox too poorly for enjoyment; her complaints were more of a suffering than dangerous nature. I had dis-agreeable company home. I have heard a stage-coach ride aptly compared to the journey of life. What we sometimes meet with in it is, at first, almost intolerable, We get better reconciled to it by degrees, & still more comfort from the reflection that the end is approaching, perhaps by slow, but certain steps. Happy will it be for me should the end of the most important journey, be comparable to this; for I arrived home, in safety & felt the inexpressible comfort of being met & conducted there by my best friend. The next morning at meeting, T. Rutter was very particularly engaged.

He addressed different states with whom, he said, he had thought it his duty to labour more than 30 years. He then entered on the subject of his own conflicts & convictions at an early period of his life, & next adverted to some whom he congratulated as being near to a better state—a state he had previously described. Before he concluded; he told us in a solemn, affecting manner, what was the travail of his spirit for us—that we might meet with the same mercy with which he had been favoured, when his body was laid in the silent gravel adding he considered his life particularly uncertain, & if he should never more have an opportunity with us, he had this Testimony to bear, that he had no doubt of a fresh visitation being extended, & that the kingdoms of this world would become the Kingdoms of Christ, whose spirit would reign on the earth. He ended with a solemn text. My mind was very tenderly affected, & though there was no probability, to human appearance, of his speedy removal, yet the uncertainty of life making it a possible event, was enough to make it an affecting subject, to those who would sensibly feel his loss. It is a common & just observation that the regard which commences in early life takes the deepest root, especially if it has anything to do with religion.

18th Second day: Whilst I was in the act of receiving goods in the new house, a letter came with a request I would inform C. Fox that her aunt Philips was very ill. I wrote to a judicious friend, she at Bath, to break it to her; but another letter in the evening with an acct. of our afflicted friend's removal, with a request I would personally inform her niece of this event, made it an indispensable call of friendship; which my husband readily gave me up to obey. At halfpast 6 next morning Hetty C. & myself set out in a chaise, after I had passed an almost sleepless night. We arrived before the letter I had sent, & before C. Fox & E. Berry had begun breakfast. C.F. received the account with fortitude, thankfulness being at first most predominant, & though she shed tears, they seemed tears of tenderness rather than grief, she being fully sensible of the inexpressible favor it was to her beloved aunt to

experience such a change, after the severe afflictions she had been permitted to go through.

After her husband's return from London C.F. set out to attend the funeral, & from her expressive pen I soon received the following account,—“We reached home in season, to attend the awful interment of our honoured aunt's remains, & to pay the last tribute of respect to one who was worthy of double honour. The procession from Redruth was large & joined on the road & at the burying place, by many; so that the house being not large enough to contain them, it was concluded for the ministers to set out of doors, by which means the relations could not distinctly hear; but it was an opportunity remarkably & solemnly quiet, in which the wing of ancient goodness was felt by many minds. We have been at Redruth since the funeral; but I hope to have no more occasion to enter the doors of a habitation, once the scene of virtuous friendship & social enjoyment, where it may be truly said ‘the feast of reason & the flow of soul’ were often to be met with; but alas! how deserted.” The recollection of my visit there, some years ago, fully corresponded with this pleasing description. But to return to the 19th, the day we went to Bath, we had agreed with my husband, to defer sleeping in the new house till the following day, in order to save him trouble in our absence, but had engaged to drink tea with him there. Yet on entering we found all things in order, both in the parlour & chamber. This was a very pleasing circumstance & I anticipated a good night's rest, but was poorly the whole night, & hardly able to come down stairs in the morning. The following First day John Taylor was affectingly engaged in supplication. He acknowledged with the deepest humility his own unworthiness, inability to help himself &c., & earnestly prayed, if there were any present who felt themselves in the same state, they might experience help. After meeting I met with F. Pinnock, who seemed absorbed in grief, & at first was unable to tell me the cause. But I soon learned that her husband & son had sailed for America; her daughter had been before sent to school in Wales. Thus, bereaved of husband & children to whom she was fondly attached, she was left solely dependant on the will of a capricious woman. Most sincerely did I pity her. At the even^g meeting M. Ridgeway stood a long time, as she did on 3rd day, both at the meeting for worship & discipline. To the latter my husband & self (as my bro. & sister's representatives) & T. & H. Rutter, attended John Pince & Polly Hall to declare their intentions of marriage. In the gallery at the first meeting were 13 preachers; the strangers were Mary Ridgeway, Jane Watson, Ann Tuke, R. Philips, A. Hunt, M. Hoyland, & M. Wilmot.

30th W^m C. paid us a very comfortable & encouraging family visit, addressing us all separately in the language of love, particularly Hetty C.

31st M. Ridgeway again excellently engaged.

Ninth Month Joshua Williams breakfasted with us 3rd day, after meeting, H. Rutter introduced me to a stranger whom I did not immediately recollect, not expecting to see him. It was W^m Buller who invited himself to tea—John Taylor with him. Of course, I closed in with the proposal, tho' there were reasons why I did not wish to see him; but I endeavoured to forget them. They came to tea, & I think I might almost say appeared a perfect contrast to each other—in externals at least. They had some interesting conversation on the nature of prayer. John Taylor's moderation seemed equal to his humility. W.B. staid the evening. On our being a few minutes alone in the garden, he thanked me for a letter I had written to him whilst I lived at Plymouth, which, he said, he should have answered had I not requested he would receive it in silence. This letter was a subject on which I did not wish to enlarge. All I could say, with a hope of being a humble instrument of usefulness, I had said in it; which I considered as a last effort.

14th Ann Tuke stood long at the morn^g meeting, & was afterwards engaged in supplication. S. Young, in a tea visit, told us that her son W^m was gone to America with a brother of George Withy's & 2 other young men, in the same vessel as J. Pinnock & his little boy. In about 6 weeks after they sailed, the news arrived of their being taken by the French & carried into Brest—A terrible stroke this to poor F. Pinnock.

After some days confinement with an inflamed ancle, Hetty & I took a ride to Clifton to visit Anna Goldney in her new abode, where we found her surrounded by many of her relations. In this month we received repeated accounts of the illness of Spicer Fox, who caught a fever (as was supposed) by his attendance at the Hospital, which put a period to his life on the 18th of 9th mo. It was a very affecting event & felt as such by us. Many letters passed with his other relations at Plymouth, who sincerely lamented his loss.

29th J. & M. Waring to tea. We also had visits from our neighbours Page, Seldon, Benj^m Coole, T. & A. Bonville.

Tenth Month 14th Attended by invitation the marriage of John Pince & Mary Hall. It was to me as to many others a comfortable wedding. The conduct of the young couple seemed to demonstrate they were favoured with divine approbation. We dined with them at my brother Tuckett's 17 in number,—T. & H. Rutter with their eldest daughter & Mary Antice, Hetty C., Hetty Bawden, Faith Simmons & husband, Patty Thomas, & Thomas Trout, my husband & myself. We parted company at Tea; our party was T. & H.R. & the two Hettys. All the company took leave before 8 o'clock, when we returned home well pleased with the day, though Hetty C.'s having a very bad head ache in the evening was a great pall. In this mo. died Betty Galton, on which occasion her brother & L. Foster came, with whom we exchanged visits after the funeral. E. Berry & myself visited A. Fry on hearing that her little grand-daughter was dangerously ill at her house with the small pox by

inoculation. We found their fears for her life were at an end, but the poor baby was still in a very suffering state with a great load which left a full receipt. In the course of this mo we paid T. & H. Rutter a visit, & dined at M. Dimsdale's where we met Sally Gillet, who had before, with her brother, dined with us. Her looks & behaviour evinced that she had been accustomed to genteel life & her manner seemed obliging & accommodating. She came home with me & staid the evening; & afterwards, on a family day, spent another, in which we had to remark that though sensible of the convicting influence of religion, & called as she said to make some sacrifices, yet hitherto stability was wanting to enable her to do it, & was therefore much to be desired for her. The latter end of this mo., Aunt Berry, Emma & Poor Fidy [Pinnock] spent a day with us—the latter so low that, with the knowledge I had of her repeated trials, of so complicated a nature, my mind was painfully affected so as to disturb my rest that night.

11th mo 4th Charlotte Rees^{xx} was introduced to my husband by Shurmer. Bath to try if she had a genius for drawing. This child only ten years old, had a great facility for making poetry & equally excelled in prose; as she had manifested by composing sermons. When asked a question, she returned modest & sensible answers.

6th day We all, with my sister & family, drank tea & spent a very agreeable afternoon with M. Pince in her pretty parlour. About this time our neighbour Pope & her son spent an afternoon with us, & confirmed me in the opinion I had before entertained of her being a sensible, agreeable, religious woman, Her son was worthy of such a mother, His mind had been seriously impressed from the age of 14, when his sister made a most extraordinary end.

23rd First day. Heard G. Diliwyn, & truly excellent he was. He afterwards engaged in solemn supplication, which flowed as a stream of heavenly love & melted the contrite heart. After returning home, on hearing my husband could not hear G.D. so as to understand him, I experienced some of those painful sensations, I have often found hard to bear, that of sympathy with the sufferings of those I love.

2nd day we drank tea with G. & S. Dilwyn at my brother T.'s where we spent an agreeable afternoon & I was confirmed in the opinion that G.D. was a man of an enlarged mind, solid, sensible, & cheerful in conversation—much of a gentleman. Upon his expressing a wish to see the celebrated Charlotte Rees, she was sent for, admired & applauded. Our friend John Taylor addressed a little Testimony to her by way of caution, which G.D. familiarly

^{xx} Afterwards the wife of W^m Lloyd of Bristol. She died in 1818. The late Ann (Edmund) Naish of Montpelier, Bristol, was her elder sister. [J.F.]

explained to her, quoting some portions of scripture she had used in the sermons she had written. Sarah Dillyn appeared to be a very agreeable woman, very lively, & very, very much attached to her husband. The next morning's meeting, which was previous to the Mo. Mt., G.D. stood up; recommending proper qualifications for the succeeding meeting—said that "Divine love was not like stagnant water, but resembled a moving stream, executive to its effects."

29th Was Hetty C.'s & Esther T.'s birthday. The first was 24 and the other 12 years old. I loved both & desired their preservation. {Internal evidence suggests this was 1793, not 1794. M.D.}

A mournful subject for my feelings about this time was the consideration how many want not only the comforts but the necessities of life, with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless me & many more. These thoughts often follow me in the night season as well as by day when objects present to my view.

12th month 3rd Hetty came home from Stoke. At the next 3rd day meeting was a marriage at which G.D. preached. The following 6th day walked to & from Berkeley Square, where I received a kind welcome. There are, indeed, few families that give one a better idea of the advantages of good nature. Soon after drank tea at M. Becks, with our agreeable neighbour A. Bonville, her worthy brother & husband & B. Coole. The last first day in the year Emma Berry brought Fanny Pinnock who was come from the school at Wales & going to Milverton. G. S. Champion's visits were agreeable; 3 or 4 times a week; but are seldom mentioned in the foregoing year. The last afternoon & evening were spent at my brother T's, it being family day. At supper time arrived Polly Tuckett. In the morning I had a visit from E. Johnson. I close this year with desiring I may profitably reflect that,—

Swift as the winged arrows fly,
My time is hastening on;
Quick as the lightening from the sky,
My wasting moments run.

1795

First Month. Frost most of this month, which almost wholly confined me; though I made some unsuccessful attempts to go to meeting, & once went out to 1st Beck's on business. A collection, well administered, for our poor at this time, was a comfort to many.

2nd mo 1st 53 years of my pilgrimage past. How necessary, therefore it is,—

"In the wild whirl of times pursueth
To stop & pause—life glides away
For ever changing unperceived the change."

Several breaks in the frost set me at liberty. We exchanged visits with our worthy neighbour Looseley, & M. Codrington—also drank tea with the widow Pope, S. Coole & S. Harford. Sally Young had the pleasure of receiving her son W^m, who jumped out of the prison ship into the sea, & after swimming till he was nearly exhausted, was taken up by an American vessel, & after staying some time at Brest, as a sailor from America returned home. Our valuable f^d Sampson Lloyd, with his son Richard, spent some time this month with H. Rogers & drank tea with us in company with S. Harford & S. Fox. Sarah Harrison & Sarah Birbeck in Bristol at this time.

3rd month. Ill with influenza. I do not recollect suffering so much for years—not least, perhaps, from the extreme debility with which the feverishness left me. Before my recovery, my husband was complaining, but I had the satisfaction to find he passed it more lightly. The servants had been ill before, & were at this time far from well. But though the disorder was so universal, there were few if any to whom it proved mortal at Bristol.

12th Our sister E. Fox & niece Lovel—the first poorly with the remains of influenza the latter with a lingering & nameless disease. We all, I believe, notwithstanding the impediments, met with pleasure, & gradually improved, except Lovall. Soon after S. Harrison & S. Birbeck drank tea with us, & appeared to be agreeable women. The former stood a considerable time the next First day evening meeting.

25th Richard Philips dined with us & on the following day came to meet Charles Fox, his wife, Harry Fox, & Charlotte Rees.

Forth Month 2nd Felt very poorly, & hardly able to walk to E. Naish's on a little business; but was comforted by feeling a capacity of desiring I might be enabled to bear patiently all kinds of suffering permitted. Betsy Were of Wellington at tea & dinner; at the latter Ed^d & Elizth Ash & Mary. John Matravers called to speak to me. Emma Berry's frequent calls, though enjoyed, not mentioned. Often had I occasion to sympathize with her & her afflicted sister [Pinnock] who had been very ill & was now removed to her mother's, & was in the course of the few following weeks, much tried on the subject of going to America, as was, after her husband & son sailed agreed upon. But there having been no account from them since they had been taken prisoners, & a report circulated that he was dead, it seemed a very improper step that she should leave her friends & natural connexions, & put herself wholly in the power of one who had already treated her with so much unkindness; & therefore it was determined after much deliberation, that she should remain in England till she had got some certain accounts of her husband & son. One morn, with Emma, I went to see little Ann Grimin at the Workhouse, who often appeared near her end, she was so weak; yet she was very cheerful & glad to see us. In some interviews now, as often before, with my cousin Dimsdale, I found that to be contemporary, as well as congenial,

forms the highest enjoyment of friendly intercourse. S. Harrison was very lively at the eveng. meeting. Next 6th day we felt our minds solemnly affected by a letter from my brother Fox to E. Fox where he mentions their being in danger of a great scarcity of meat at Plymouth. About this time lay ill of a fever Francis Fox of Falmouth a worthy young man lately married to Hester Mills. He had also appeared in the ministry, in which service, though thus early, the most promising hopes were given; but his heavenly Master, in mercy to him, removed him from a world where the potsherd of the earth are permitted for a season, to molest & destroy.

22nd or 21st Took Ann Simmons a child sent from Plymouth by Betsy Fox Jr. to the Orphan Asylum. This merry, active little maid seemed quite uninformed & to have little or no recollection of the scenes through which she had passed, though they had been various. She had been with us only a week, yet interested all the family in her welfare.

27th The nurse from Peter's Hospital¹¹⁰ came to inform us that the poor afflicted blind child who once came to school, & about whom we had been so long interested, was released after a short struggle (though she had been long ill). She was sensible she was going; said she was not afraid to die; then, praying to the Lord to take her quickly to himself, concluded "not my will but thine be done." She then expressed thankfulness for the kindness of those who were with her, blessed them & quietly departed. How truly desirable, whether we end our day in a palace or a hospital is such a close! This person had in early life enjoyed a state of affluence under the parental roof, but on being left, I think at 12 years of age, an orphan, with 11 other children who were I suppose dispersed, her lot was cast into this lowest of hospitals, deprived of the light of the sun by total blindness. But she patiently endured both these trials & that of Fits, till to her this blissful period. She was 22 years old, though the size of a girl of ten, & had, to appearance, fine black eyes.

5th mo 3rd Our Yearly Meeting. I attended all 3 meetings, on First-day; by which I found I was not so well able to bear fatigue as formerly, or rather that I was tired with that exertion. I formerly enjoyed John Townsend, Sam^l Alexander, J. Whale, M. Bowden, Rich^d Gilkes & T. Clark attended. All our family, except myself & husband, were at the meeting held at Frenchay. My brother & John Duck came by tea time & gave us an account of the meeting, as well as of some interesting particulars which had occurred at M. Beek's. We spent the evening at my brother's; & thus ended a satisfactory Yearly meeting.

3rd day, Mary Bevington, Sally Fry, & H. Portsmouth dined & took tea with us. After they were gone, we walked to the Orphan Asylum to see little Nancy. We found 9 of the children, out of 11, at work in the garden, which served for recreation & exercise.

15th At 3 o'clock Loyal set out with my brother T. for London.

18th E. Fox set out at the request of J. P. Dearman, to be with his wife, as he was going to London. Emma accompanied her to the stage, & met us at the breakfast table, after which we went to Temple St. together. In the afternoon at Dr. Fox's, where we saw a wax resemblance of an infant they had buried some time before. I think were I to be shewn a likeness [of the kind] of a friend I loved, even whilst the body was animated with a living soul, it would produce a horrid kind of feeling of a nature peculiar to itself.

22nd Spent at Stoke in very pleasant weather. In this week Thos. Rutter & B. Coole drank tea with us in the summer house. The former had just taken possession of a house he had purchased at Moorend, & where his wife was gone. About this time Fidy Pinnock was so alarmingly ill for some weeks that, at times, I thought the end of her sufferings was at hand; but it proved otherwise for by degrees she recovered.^{yy} I received a morning visit from an old friend of the name of Wathen, whom I had occasionally seen she was my school-fellow, & who bore a very amiable character.

6th mo 1st My brother T. came home from London & on the 4th the family went to lodgings at Frenchay.

4th The children of the benevolent schools met for the first time, before they walked, in Portland Square. The next day I went in the stage to Frenchay, & wished I could talk French, there being a gentleman in it who could not speak English. My husband & Hetty came over in a chaise to tea, bringing Hetty Bawden with them, who had spent 2 days with Hetty C. I returned in her place. Whilst we were at tea; we thought we had cause to expect a revival of the affair between Thos. Were & Mary Ash. We called on Nancy Williams, whom I had not seen for a long time. She seemed very glad to see a representative in Hetty C. of her old & valued master & mistress.

6th There was a riot in the market on account of the dearness of meat, more particularly occasioned by the indiscretion of one butcher. The following day I felt under the pressure of such a want of spirits as to be incapable of any kind of enjoyment. By the next afternoon I was much better, & whilst I was reading in a very contemplative manner, in E. Rowe's private letters, & copying from some, I felt considerably disengaged from the scenes around me, which will in a short time disappear. The veil will be withdrawn, & all

^{yy} She lived to an advanced age, her death occurring on 8th of 10th mo 1829 when aged 82. The Friends' Monthly Magazine (Vol 1 No 1) adds "This friend was wholly confined to her bed for many years before her decease, having been long entirely disabled by paralysis. She was a bright & edifying example of Christian faith & patience." She was a widow at the time & resided in Hallgrave St. Bristol. [J.F.]

connection with present objects at an end. A degree of self possession succeeded these reflections, when on a sudden, my whole chain of ideas were broken by Hetty C. telling me that an elderly officer with a little old woman holding by him; whom she conceived to be Harry & Molly Davies had been ringing at my brother T's door. By the time I got from the summer house to the street-door, they were out of the Square. Thus the feelings of those days when I first knew Harry Davies being, in some measure renewed, I persuaded my husband & Hetty to go with me in search of them. On our returning through John St. after a fruitless inquiry at the Inns, we accidentally saw them at M. Southalls window, & Hetty C. had the pleasure of seeing a man, who, of all her father's numerous acquaintances & professing friends, was the only one that, for some years before his death, kept up a correspondence with him. 6th day following came John Prideaux (from Birmingham) at 7 in the morning, who went on to Plymouth the following morning at 5. We were concerned at his looking poorly & out of spirits, which we partly attributed to his having left his beloved Lydia behind whom we expected with Susan Fox in a week or 10 days; when he proposed to meet them. Little John Berguin {?} called to see his dear brother Prideaux as he used to call him, whom he met with tears of joy. H. Davies also called to fetch home his dear Molly, who was to have spent the day with us while he was at Bath, but she was put off on acct. of John Prideaux. Harry's solicitude on imputing her absence to indisposition manifested the sincerity of his regard. 5th day. We all spent at Frenchay & drank tea at Moorend with H. Rutter, whom we found in a very comfortable habitation, to which they were making some convenient additions. The next day arrived our sister E. Fox, Lydia Prideaux & Susan Fox. On 1st day Sally Stevenson dined & drank tea with us. She was so agreeable that she reminded me of the S. Smith whom I was well acquainted many years ago at Joseph Fry's, which was confirmed in an hour spent with her alone the next morning at R. Simpson's, when we talked of our beloved Sukey Rogers, as well as of others of our friends removed. Such recollections must indeed have a very gloomy effect did "the scenes of our early & virtuous attachments" end here; but in the consolatory view that in this life they have only a commencement the chain of ideas is continued, & the enlivening expectation of a reunion experienced. But let us remember that it is only those friends who have loved us & whom we have loved in Him, who gave them to us that we have a right to hope to enjoy in a blessed communion hereafter. We had a very agreeable visit of a few days from our two nieces L.P. & S.F. only interrupted by a letter to L. Prideaux from her husband to say he had reached Exeter in his way to Bristol, but was too poorly to proceed. In consequence of this L.P. came back from her uncle G. Bush's in order to go to him next morning; but on entering the Square, her husband (who had unexpectedly followed his letter) met her before she reached our house. The surprise, added to what she had before suffered, quite overcame her & produced

dreadful hysterics, which, however soon subsided & a tender scene ensued; after which both were enough recovered to join us at supper, & we passed a very agreeable evening. The next day they went to Frenchay to tea & the following afternoon they & S. R. Fox left us; & notwithstanding I was more poorly than common I had enjoyed their society.

30th E. Fox & Hetty C. went to the Frenchay Quarterly meeting & spent the day there. S. Stevenson was at my bro. T's lodging & affectionately addressed Hetty C.

7th month Fourth day we all drank tea with H.R. at Stoke & left Hetty with her aunt Mary for a few days. 7th day busy in consequence of the illness of the mistress of the blind school who had a paralytic seizure which deprived her of her speech & of the use of her limbs. She was taken to the infirmary. In this month John Pinnock & his son returned from France. I called to see the latter at his grandmother's. He appeared in a confirmed decline, was tall, genteel, & much improved. He talked intelligently & sensibly. As I admired, him I pitied his poor mother.

8th Received an account that W^m Bush, who had been dangerously ill, was worse; & in the evening that his life had terminated. The knowledge I had of him, at intervals, from my childhood, the regard I had for his wife, & the connection of marriage between him & my husband's family, all concurred to interest me in this solemn event, about which I wrote to Plymouth, & in a few days called to see Priscilla Bush at the house. Also, with my husband & Hetty, walked to the Redclift yard to the interment, where preached Thos: Rutter, S. Dyer & E. Bevington. At this time a great scarcity of bread occasioned much talk, many fears & much frugality; & produced in my mind some gloomy thoughts. Yet I may thankfully add, a hope of being able to obtain strength under every exigency comforted me. For never, I trust, shall I doubt being fed "with food convenient for me." But I feel the distresses of the poor. O that I may be found a faithful steward. About this time Elizth Ash called with Mary Stanton & a sweet little boy in frocks. M.S. was a young widow & going to engage in the school at Frenchay with Hester Price. Hetty Bawden in town part of this week to see her aunt S. Tuckett, who came to Bristol to be joined by E. Fox on a religious journey to Worcestershire, Warwickshire & Herefordshire. They set out on the 22nd, accompanied by my brother T. & George Withy a little way. Emma & myself were rather uneasy on E. Fox's account, who we feared had not strength equal to the undertaking; but we were comforted at hearing they went on well. The same day a meeting was appointed in the evening by Nicolas Waln in his way to Ireland. The meeting was well attended. N.W. was truly excellent chiefly on renunciation of self & regeneration. He gave Ministers a solemn caution to watchfulness, that they might not be puffed up with their gifts—that they

should be willing like one of old, to put off the priest's office & mix with the people &c. He afterwards prayed.

8th month. First day, I was, as I have been lately, poorly, & much affected with the appearance of the worthy John Taylor at the morn^g meeting who was greatly agitated in delivering a short Testimony. He stood up a second time, querying was their no state bound in chains &c.—said that the Devil who tempted our Saviour, still continued the same work towards his followers. At the evening meeting my mind was affected at hearing a young woman, with the consideration of much misspent time since the favoured period of early dedication; & I earnestly desired to lose no longer time in dallying by the way, that tho' not called to the same work as this young woman, I might experience a more perfect redemption. These feelings were strengthened by a lively Testimony from T. Rutter. In this week I spent a morning in looking over old papers & letters—an employment I often delight in, though it is attended by some feelings of a mixed nature. It recalled to my view those I loved who are escaped from life & all its cares, some—I hope all—centred in everlasting life—in the enjoyments of which I have no doubt, virtuous friendship makes a part. Long since I have known if, unrepining we have accepted every bitter cup, we shall feel the blessed effects; but where are the fruits of this knowledge? 6th day Though more poorly than usual we drank tea at John Duck's. First day, an account that M. Pince was confined with a son.

26th Spent the day with M. Dimsdale. Her poor mother was now almost a child. It is nearly impossible to see a person in such a state without uneasy sensations, which I have sometimes thought, arise from a fear of living to the same state.

31st Loval Fox arrived unexpectedly while I was after supper reading to my husband & Hetty the interesting narration of Du Fose {?} in A. M. Williams' letters. I was glad to see her look & seem in better health.

9th month 1st Nancy Young & her good old father drank tea with us in their way from Falmouth to Leominster.

7th day night. I had a dream which I thought much of. It related to my being in a future state, though I did not think it a token of my speedy removal into it.

6th day Went in a coach to Berkeley Square & spent the morning with my old acquaintance M. Arch, who drank tea with me. First day. We adverted to old affairs, as well as to the more recent loss she had sustained of her only & amiable daughter. My brother, sister & Esther spent 2 days with us at the time of the Quarterly Meeting. I was too busy to attend the first meeting, as we were going the next day to Cheltenham, but went to the 2nd, where I very unexpectedly heard Mary Dudley, who was come to the wells for her health.

17th We set out for Cheltenham in order to spend two weeks quietly on my husband's account. We left my brother & sister in possession of our house, as they proposed attending meeting before their return to Frenchay. We lay at Gloucester & the next morning got to Cheltenham where we lodged at H. Smith's. At my entrance into the street, the recollection of a variety of scenes assailed me & memory presented (it seemed at one view) the last 30 years of my life—ten of them elapsed since my last visit to it. It dwelt most, however, on the times of early enjoyment,

“When flattered, inexperienced, high in hope,
We cut our cable, launched into the world.”

Yet, whatever were the pleasures of that day, the recollection of them was imbittered by the reflection that they were the (beginning) means of weaning me by almost imperceptible degrees from more substantial enjoyments, sowing tares that sprang up afterwards & measurably choked the good seed. But the improving hand of adversity has since, in mercy, taught me, that there is nothing, except what tends to promote an interest in that life which is immortal, worth our care.

We spent an agreeable fortnight at Cheltenham enjoying the society of each other free from cares. During it we contracted an acquaintance with Sarah Darby, a sensible, religious, valuable, woman, & her companion S. Appleby, whose affability, as well as a certain sensation I felt, which I was ready to call sympathy, powerfully operated in drawing my affections, in a manner I had seldom, if ever, experienced with strangers, & a further intercourse induced me to hope this feeling was mutual. Her conversation was very interesting, very sensible, & full of anecdotes. Many civilities we received from them in their week's stay at Cheltenham. We also visited our old friend Mary Barrett & Thos: Rich who was married since I was last at Cheltenham. We had one visit from the widow Buxton, her uncle M. Lloyd & her pleasing sister Mary Hanbury. We attended the Quarterly Meeting at Tewkesbury where S. Stevenson preached.

10th month 3rd We left Cheltenham & the same day arrived home.

10th Was glad to see my sister E. Fox returned from her labours. Sally Tuckett went to her brother John's.

2nd day. We received a letter from Emma, who went to Wellington in our absence, informing us that Thos: Were was thought near his end & appeared in a resigned state; in the evening an account came that he was dead. My husband felt an inclination to attend the remains of one whom he had loved from a child. The burial was to be on the 15th. On the day preceeding we set out for Wellington & reached the White Hart about 6 o'clock, where we were told the hearse had just entered before us; for T.W. died at lodgings near Dartmouth. He left an amiable young widow. We staid at the inn that

night. The next morning we breakfasted at Nicolas Were's; but the very hard rain prevented our going to the house to join the cavalcade, which we fell in with near the meeting Mary Were & A. Byrd preached. Soon after we came from the funeral, I went into the Kitchen to visit a poor woman whom they called Dame, who had been nurse-maid to the deceased, whom she said she loved as her own child, & seemed to lament as such. Whilst we were sitting with this old woman, the two brothers entered & sat down by her. She seemed unable to bear their kindness. They never appeared so amiable in my eyes. We left E.F. to go on to Plymouth & went on to Bath where we met Hetty Champion & spent the day with S. Appleby & S. Darby. Here we saw & admired R. Fowler. In the even^g, we got to our dear domestic home.

27th Little John Pinnock was released an event long expected.

28th We received a family visit from James Howarth. We attended little J. P's interment in very tempestuous weather & afterwards paid a satisfactory visit to the parents.

S. Appleby breakfasted with us & we went together, to meeting, where were married T. Were & M. Ash.

[11th month 12th] M. Dudley dined with us, & I went with her to F.P. on a visit of condolence on the death of her son & her many afflictions. A consolatory testimony seemed to do even her health good.

12th month 12th M. J. Griffin brought her friend Greenaway. They staid one night. No occurrence has since taken place except my mind being tried with some fears of a distressing nature. But trials in some shape or other, must be expected; for "we are not more the children than the heirs of pain." But I have not forgotten to estimate the Asylum I am favoured with in the evening of life I close [the year] here, sincerely desirous to be more & more centred in that spirit which breathes peace & good will—that spirit which is at enmity only with evil, can rejoice even under suffering & thankfully receive all with gratitude to our Heavenly Benefactor, "Who called us into being to be blest." Young.

1796

First Month 1st My brother, sister, Esther, J. & Caroline Tuckett, S. Harford Jun^r & George Champion¹¹ spent the day with us. On our separating some conversation occurred on the rapidity of time & the uncertainty of life; & consequently of our meeting thus again—but "mortality's coeval with our birth, Life is a chain of links which leads to death."

On a family day the worthy John Taylor joined us at tea, & entered into conversation in a way that did my heart good to hear—so sensible, benevolent & truly, evangelical; the efficacy of which I much wished G.L.C.

might experience. This excellent man was just returned from paying a visit to an ancient father & mother near whose habitation he was going to reside (at Manchester). We were truly sorry to part with him.

20th Came in their way to Plymouth, J.P. & P. Dearman & their pretty little daughter Anna. They went on next morning. After they were gone I paid my sister a little pleasant visit, & was alarmed on my return to find that my husband by taking out a tooth, had occasioned the gum to bleed so much that he could not stop it; nor did J. Duck succeed, but John Newman, in about 2 hours after he came eased our fears.

The next first day W^m Lewis stood up, & with great calmness, delivered a short but excellent Testimony. Next day arrived from Plymouth J. P. Dearman in his way home. He gave us a tremendous account of the wreck of the Dutton.¹¹² He was poorly & staid with us till 7th day. I thought him very sensible & agreeable.

Went with my dear little niece to see if I could procure glasses to help her sight. Few there are who have had opportunities of being acquainted with her affectionate disposition, her warmth & attachment to those she loves.

2nd Mo 1st In the afternoon J. & M. Harford brought their niece, Elizth Prior, an elegant girl about 17 years of age. She had lost her father & mother, both of whom I remembered & had a large fortune. We had in this week a call from Richard Philips who appeared very ill & not likely to live long. Calling on M. Pince, I found S. Eady so poorly I was uneasy lest she had too much to do. I soon put her on a different plan for the present.

3rd day M. Dimsdale went home with me from meeting with whom I spent a very enjoyable hour alone. 5th day morn^g paid H. Rutter a comfortable visit—talked over the trials of the present day. My husband chosen on the committee for new building womens meeting room. On the morrow G. & A. Eaton & John Williams at tea, the conversation of the latter generally gave me pleasure.

28th Colds very common at this time. We declined supping family days at either house.

3rd mo 9th Had an opportunity to admire the character of Ann Hunt, who drank tea with us. The usefulness of her life, the simplicity of her manners, the cheerfulness of her conversation, with the general good will she bore her acquaintance, much recommended her to their regard.

16th Paid Sukey Champion a visit at cousin Dimsdale's where she & her husband were. Whilst I pitied them I felt a wish that their trials might lead to useful reflections, not attended with unavailing regrets, but be productive of the best & most salutary effects. How much of my excellent uncle C's effects have been scattered by his immediate descendants, who might

probably have been now respectable in this city, as he was in his day had they kept the faith he kept, & lived the life he lived. A departure from the principles of our pious ancestors, who many of them sealed their testimony with their blood, & dearly purchased for us the liberty we now enjoy, such a departure is rarely followed by worldly prosperity, & a favour it is that he chastens them thus by a deprivation of those very things which very probably have been the chief cause of their departure from him. Thos: Shillitoe in town. My bro. Tuckett went to Wellington to attend the burial of Nicholas Were. 6th day we received a religious visit from Thos: Shillitoe who paid a few.

4th mo 14th This day three years my dear E.H.C. came from America. To me her company has been truly pleasant. Nicholas Waln in town & preached at the even^g meeting. My husband poorly, but after tea I called in King's Square on H. Rogers who was very poorly. Walking in her garden before I went away, a line in Parnels' Hermit occurred as applicable,—“It seemed to speak the owners turn of mind.”

5th day even^g I went to meeting with my old & esteemed friend T. Rutter, after drinking tea with him & his wife in her confinement with a son. 6th day spent an agreeable hour with M.D. settling Lefevre letters for republication. Rachael Rutter, who was just returned from having been near 7 years with Joan Holbro, dined with us. She was a fine girl with an intelligent look—so animated that the beholder seldom stopt to consider what were the features that conveyed so much expression. 5th day even^g, W^m Rawes was engaged in supplication. He & his worthy wife had this day dined with us. He was a very agreeable man, & took much notice of Hetty Champion. 1st day T.R. in his preaching, seemed to possess much of the greenness of youth. How short comparatively, does the period seem in looking back, when, in being engaged to pray, for the rising generation, he included both himself & me as well as many more—some whose earthly race is long since run. In receiving a visit next day from John Helton & his wife, the very great alteration in his person since my first acquaintance with him, struck me exceedingly. Our own changes pass to ourselves more unnoticed.

“So gentle life's descent.”

“We shut our eyes & think it a plain.” Young.

5th mo 1st The Yearly Meeting W^m Simon, S. Whale, & M. Bawden in town. Thos: Fox of Wellington dined with us, after which Betsy Fox Jun: brought a young man from the wells, whose name was Wakefield; whose appearance indicated that he was fast approaching “that undiscovered country from whose bourne, no traveller returns.” The evening meeting was exceedingly crowded, at which W^m Simon delivered an excellent doctrinal discourse.

On 2nd day in the afternoon I called at T. Rutter's which proved an affecting visit from something he said respecting an apprehension he had of my husband's being in a declining state of health.

3rd day morning, The Yearly Meeting ended to me it had been very satisfactory.

4th with my husband & Hetty set out for Plymouth, leaving Betsy Fox at her uncle, Geo: Bush's. We got to Plymouth on 6th day, & lodged in Pike St., where our brother Fox spent the evening with us. He seemed in comfortable health & spirits. To J. & L. Prideaux's family was added a fine little girl whom they called Sarah. My little friend John was about 8 years old & still very engaging. John Fox was still in trade at Dock [Devonport] but intended soon quitting it a period to which he appeared to look for happiness; but it is neither excluded from or to be [always] found in or out of shops, in the shades of the country or the bustle of the city. It dwells in the mind & "is nowhere to be found or everywhere." Sally Abbot (late Tregelles) was settled at Plymouth since our last visit, & appeared to be a useful acquisition to the place, as she was ever ready to assist the afflicted, minister to the wants of the poor, & comfort the distressed. She had something to say in meetings. Her husband was at this time in Ireland with T. Scattergood, from whence she expected to meet him at the London Yearly Meeting. Hetty C. who found Hetty Bawden waiting for her, accompanied her to Looe on the 2nd day after our arrival at Plymouth, where she staid rather more than a fortnight & then returned to us. We paid near 30 visits including a call on John Byrth at Dock, whom we were pleased to find increased in worldly prosperity. Much of the time my health was poor. Such frequent visits dissipated my mind, as well as injured my stomach, which made me uncomfortable. To live more inwardly watchful is the thing wanted.

On the first day of our return journey, I began a letter at Ashburton to my sister E. Fox. We lay at Chudleigh & the next morning spent half an hour at Stoke with my cousin E. Sanders, & in the evening got to our sister Were's at Wellington. Here we staid till the following 4th day. We drank tea at T. Fox's & dined at Mary Were's at Wellington, with whom being alone often, I had much talk of our deceased afflicted friend C. Philips, who I found, from the many anecdotes related, had been a painful source of trial to her husband & near friends, long before her unhappy malady was known to the world. 4th day We attended the first of the Quarterly Meetings at Taunton, dined by ourselves & went on to Bridgewater to lodge. At Cross the next day we joined a party of friends to dinner. At Lanford we met my brother & sister Tuckett, where we drank tea comfortably together & I was much pleased at seeing both so well. In James' Square we found Betsy Fox & Esther T. waiting to receive us. The former went the following week to Birmingham to her sister D. who was expecting her confinement. On taking

a retrospection view of our journey, I am pleased we undertook it as I think it proved a waiting season, & I hope has tended to increase the desire more & more to seek qualifications for admission within the pearl gates—never more to experience separation.

About a fortnight after our return my brother & sister went to lodgings at Frenchay & George Champion went to Scotland to visit his sister Jane.

2nd day I spent an afternoon with Anne Fry, who seemed much occupied by a visit she had lately received from her daughter-in-law Jenny Fry, & a pretty female infant about 8 mos old. It was their first as well as only child, tho' they had been married some years. It died soon after of smallpox by inoculation; on which occasion I could not help feeling for the parents, though having little acquaintance with them.

7th mo 3rd day at Mo. Mtg., where the epistles both from America & England were read, I believe to advantage I was not at the first meeting, where, I heard Thos: Pole preached, as he did excellently at the 5th day evening meeting; mostly addressing servants, & those in what are called inferior stations. He & his wife spent an evening with us. She appeared to be a very agreeable woman & we passed a very pleasant evening. John Newman was added to the company. First day I went to the two meetings; at both I heard Thos: Pole, who appeared to me greatly enlarged in his gift since I heard him some years ago. He also appeared greatly improved in person by being increased in size. About this time I was confined with the rheumatism & experienced much want of comfort both mentally & bodily—the latter I fear from too many briars & thorns growing up for want of watchfulness so that there was as heretofore, danger of the good seed being choked. Some of this was I believe, the consequence of too earnest a pursuit of things lawful in themselves. 6th day my spirits quite upset by receiving an account that John Prideaux was ill of a nervous fever. 1st day The meeting was disturbed by M. Pile in a deranged state. The next morning Mary Bath called. She entertained me much by her interesting conversation. She told me she had lately dreamed that she had heard read a religious letter addressed to me which was written in harmonious prose till towards the conclusion which was in verse but she could only recollect the following;

“Make use of your time—all your time here below,
For O 'tis my measure—my measure to know
That none but the righteous are taken above,
To dwell in the regions of joy & of love.”

My young friend related to me some other extraordinary things of the same nature which she had met with in those seasons when so many “Lie in dead oblivion—or else to feverish vanity alive, wild’ring & tossing in distempered dreams.” 3rd day at meeting a good old man, John James delivered, in an

almost whisper, what, I have no doubt, was an acceptable offering—an evening sacrifice for he was bending beneath age & infirmities The first sentence I could hear was “Lord save or I perish;” afterwards flowed many beautiful parts of Isaiah. Brought Debby Hunt home to dine. In the evening inattention to preserve moderation in every pursuit brought suffering.

1st day, we had a letter that gave some hopes of a little amendment in John Prideaux; but the next letter gave little hope of his recovery. We had no decisive account afterwards till the 27th or 28th, which brought the affecting intelligence that our valuable nephew was released from his sufferings the 26th inst. This was an event concerning which reason afforded no consolation. Very difficult I found it to get at any comfortable degree of resignation; for my most compassionate feelings were excited when I reflected on an afflicted young widow who was uncommonly attached to an excellent husband, who was most tenderly united to her—the father of her now fatherless children. I had considered him a character growing in usefulness & improving in the best attainments. But the Almighty, & Allwise, whose thoughts are not as our thoughts saw right to accept him as a sacrifice rather than a servant, & I have no doubt received him to a place of rest. His behaviour through the whole of his illness manifested a “sweet devoted frame of mind, & clear apprehensions of the importance of eternity; tho’ at times under restlessness, he was tried with doubts respecting the right preparation of his heart for Divine acceptance because the sensibility of light was not so conspicuous as his panting soul sought after. He more than once lamented the prospect of leaving an afflicted widow & six helpless children—but added ‘No, not helpless! for he who feeds the sparrows will not forsake them if they forsake not him.’ He craved patience & clear understanding, through whatever he might have to pass, & signified that preparation was not to be deferred till the weight of bodily suffering was heavy. He was frequently engaged in fervent supplication & his friends had every reason to be thankful on his account. His loss was felt & deplored by the generality of his neighbours & friends, who truly valued him.” On this afflictive occasion, our intercourse by letter, became frequent, & a depression of spirits succeeded, attended at times by distressing pains in my head &c. I had just strength to breathe for resignation to suffering, & desired that I might learn to say with the apostle, “I have learned in all states to be content.” This state lasted from the 26th of 7th mo to the 16th of 8th mo. During it I spent one day at Frenchay, taking tea at Thos: Rutter’s at Moorend. One evening arrived W^m & Jenny Clark with their two eldest daughters whom they had brought to Frenchay school. The next morning I accompanied them in a coach to Clifton & the Wells, also to see the grotto. Our nephew & niece Clark staid with us about a fortnight. Part of the time the weather was so intensely warm that it seemed to injure my husbands health. The day before our guests left their attention was tenderly engaged by

seeing little John Pince, whose mother brought up her sick child from Corn St. to our house for a little air. As it lay in her lap, it looked like a dying infant though very sweet & quiet; & so much was I occupied with the subject that it partly deprived me of rest.

9th mo My brother T. came to town & informed us that Thos: Scattergood was at Frenchay, & intended that morning being at meeting. He pressed me to go with him. The prospect was pleasing, but my husband was poorly, & though leaving me at liberty, evidently wished for my company. After a little consideration therefore, I gave it up. T.S. attended our Firstday morning meeting in silence. The next I went with my husband to spend the day at Frenchay. The following first day my brother & sister came & staid till the following 4th day. On the former day, in the morning meeting, T. Scattergood was most powerfully & pathetically engaged. His subjects were various, & the auditors generally affected—the youth particularly, whom he addressed & whom he said he believed to be under a divine visitation even the children, many of whose little hearts, seemed broken under his ministry. The remembrance of my own youth was renewed. But under all my deficiencies, from that season to the present, I may, I hope, with some sense of thankfulness add that in every varied dispensation, & even under deep distress, I have been favoured with something like an abiding sense of support, with a hope of its being continued to the end, though the prospect of the future seems to be veiled from my view. & this brings to my mind a sentence of T. Scattergood's in repeating part of the Lord's prayer "Give us this day our daily bread." He dwelt on the words this day, having nothing to do with to-morrow. This was a subject, in a particular manner, applicable to my weakness.

Third day my brother & sister came to town. Our friend T.S. was again greatly favoured in his ministry, but no particulars now occur, except that he pathetically addressed the widows & fatherless. After dinner my brother & sister went to John Lury's, intending to return to tea, but they were detained there till 7 o' clock by a meeting. In the mean time I should have been very comfortable, drinking tea with my husband in the garden & enjoying the sweets of the outward creation, for which I felt in some measure thankful, had I not been interrupted by company, & a little impatient for my brother & sister's return, as they were going to Frenchay that evening.

The next morning my brother T., Hetty & myself went to John Lury's, finding T. Scattergood was to set out after breakfast. We found a large company seated at a long table. After the tea things were removed & the people a little settled, a silence followed & first Rudd Wheeler said "he awoke in the morning with the following sentence in his mind, "When my father & mother forsook me, then then the Lord took me up" to which he added a little. Then T.S. prayed fervently for many in this city, &

particularly for the family who had in the name of an apostle, handed him a cup of water &c. Before he concluded he earnestly besought the Lord to preserve his visited children. In taking his leave he said there were many present who were near to his best life. He then bade them farewell, observing it had often been his lot to part with his friends as soon as he had got a little acquainted with them. On his rising to go away he took a very tender leave of individuals—particularly a young girl who had been lately convinced & sat next him. He spoke to her in the most encouraging manner. Mary Stanton shed many tears & seemed as if she could not bear to part with one, who, she considered, had in a singular manner, been made an instrument of good to her some years before. I lately heard her relate the particulars. She was one day at the Peel Meeting, led there by seeming chance, when Thos: Scattergood, who had felt a particular impression to attend that meeting in the afternoon, entered, & soon addressed in the singular number, a state so much her own that she received & believed it as meant for herself.

The following 6th day I went to Frenchay, early enough to breakfast with my sister—my brother & Esther coming as far as the turnpike to fetch me. A disappointment I met with in not being able to return home in the stage subjected me to such a conflict as only such foolish minds are susceptible of—a division of will—if that be possible, a longing to get home & yet a desire that appeared almost equally strong to stay. But knowing I had left my husband poorly, & that he expected me home, turned the balance, & determined me to use every effort to go. At the Inn, where S. Brice & family had lodgings, I met the once agreeable widow D., of whom I had seen little since she had again entered the marriage state. She was in her carriage & offered to set me down at the turnpike. My spirits were worn out by the time I reached James' Square, as I had shed many tears in my walk. O when shall I be able to attain more firmness. I was, however, quite comforted, by receiving the welcome of the whole family, as they had been uneasy at the delay, & a most affectionate one from my husband whom I found not as well as I wished; though he had, with Hetty C., walked a considerable way, in the hope of meeting me. He had not so good a night as usual. This was the first symptom of a disease of a very threatening kind, though in its beginning slight. He was so poorly all the next week that I was almost wholly confined with him & unable to attend the Quarterly Meeting; but S. Fox of Wellington, S. Rundal, & my brother & sister drank tea with us.

25th 7th day I am writing this while my husband is dozing in his easy chair, in which situation, though it is a trying one, having to sympathize with a near & dear friend under bodily sufferings, I feel that peace which is not to be felt by the world amidst their most jovial entertainments. I wish I was more grateful & more humble.

30th Commenced visitor at the Workhouse after intending it 30 years. George Withy brought me home & staid tea.

Tenth Mo. 10th From having paid a visit to our sick neighbour Page, Thos: Rutter called & spent to us an agreeable hour. I spent a little time with S. Page on 5th day, when she appeared to me to be in that sort of agitation, from weak nerves, which is another name for misery; because under its influence, the soul seems so weighed down as to be incapable of feeling that support it is no doubt, though not in a sensible manner favoured with.

17th I accompanied Eliz. Ash to see about a girl's school for A. Binns. Ann (J.) Fry & Edith Frank were joined with us in the appointment of superintending it, & we were to meet monthly. 4th day. Joel Cadbury called in behalf of poor W^m James, now imprisoned in the King's Bench. Soon after we heard of the removal of Rich^d Philips at Dover, where he went for his health. Many are the instances of those who set out in life with the fairest prospects but by turning aside from the right path involve themselves in a labyrinth from which they sometimes are never able to extricate themselves; & O that in this, as in some similar instances, the loss of earthly comforts, the loss of the esteem of the worthy, with many other consequent troubles, may suffice, & that a conviction, tho' in the last conflict of nature, may prove available. 3rd day at Mo. Mg.; also at the funeral of Peter Morris Jun; who, tho' he had been long poorly, had at the last a hasty summons from time to eternity—a summons all must receive & obey in some shape or other. I paid his young widow a visit & thought her truly deserving the attention of her friends. Met the school committee, with a granddaughter of Peter M's in my hand, at John Thomas's, where we waited with the children (candidates for the school) till summoned by the men then setting to bring our children to have their claims examined by them. I had to sympathize with the Mo. Mg: having to bear a contentious spirit. I returned home to drink tea with G. & L. Withy, much exhausted. The following 2nd day I visited the children who were assembled for the first time, & thought they looked very neat & pretty.

11th mo 1st was married Edward Young Jun. to Mary Tully at Friars Meeting. On the 3rd died Ann the wife of James Harford. Her remains were interred at Redclift Yard that day week. Spent most of 2nd day with A. Fry where Hetty joined me in the evening A.F. read us some very pretty letters.

13th First day Paid with my sister a short visit to James Harford, where we met Truman, who appeared as agreeable a{s} ever; & I had been informed, was an improved character. 5th day Rachael Rutter called with me on Marg^t Waring who had lately been confined.

19th My long known & esteemed friend Sarah Page, sweetly breathed out her soul into the hands of that God whom she had long, I believe, desired to

serve; & who had favoured her the preceeding night with the spirit of prayer, & an assurance of being blessed. These were the last words she was heard to utter.

“Arise my soul & tread the Tempter down
Though death & hell are in the way,
A feeble saint may win the crown.”

Most of the foregoing I received from her sister Susanna in a visit I paid her after dinner. She received me with great kindness, & seemed to receive much consolation from her sister having been so well prepared for her change, & being delivered from her many conflicts. She remarked of how little consequence was every thing in a world where we could not expect to sojourn much longer. The past, she said, appeared to her as a dream; & all she desired was, thro’ the mercy of a Saviour, to get well to the end. My mind received much comfort from many things which passed in this interview.

28th Attended the funeral of S. Page, walking to the yard at Redclift. T.R. preached.

Twelfth Month Second day The school committee met at Eliz. Ash’s, whom we found indisposed; but as she perceived the Divine hand in every dispensation; she bore all with patient resignation, believing as I lately heard her express it, it was the most necessary for her refinement. The following first day she was able to be at the morning meeting, where she delivered the following. “All flesh is as grass; the grass withereth, the flowers fadeth, but the word of the Lord abideth for ever.” What more, or if anything, I was not informed. My husband being again much indisposed, I was at home, & had been, the last few days, uneasy about him. 6th day Waked & lay awake in the morning, feeling very near our deceased nephew John Prideaux. Though I could not recollect the particulars of my dream, a sense of sweetness seemed to rest on my mind.

30th I was much disappointed after dinner by not being able to go to the workhouse; but went there the next morning to see Ann Grime, whom I found in a dying state. She did not appear to be sensible. A wish arose in my mind that I might be as well fitted for the solemn change as I believed her to be. She had taught me to write at 9 years of age; & having been ever since situated so as to know much of her, I fully believed that her will stood right, however mistaken she might have been respecting a call to the ministry. In all cases a death-bed is an awfully interesting scene. Full of these & similar reflections I left my ancient friend. In the even^g her niece S. Rice called to inform me she ceased to breathe about 5 o’ clock. She was in her 83rd year. Her small remains were interred at the workhouse, a meeting being

appointed for that purpose, which proved satisfactory. Under a sense of the great uncertainty of life, & the awfulness of death I close this year.

1797

First mo 10th Mary & J. Clark came to spend a week with us. I called on S. Young about poor M. Thomas, whose case required some attention, & whose tender compassion for others entitled her to a large share herself. Our ancient friend M. Beck was very poorly about this time. Few expected her recovery but providence saw fit to lengthen her useful life. D. Darby & R. Young in Bristol for many days. I once breakfasted with them at T. Rutters where they lodged. Besides our usual meetings, one was held on third-day evening for the youth & another for those not of our society which I think was the only one I was able to attend; being mostly while they were here confined with a cold. They had a meeting at Newgate with the felons & debtors which my brother T. said was a very favoured opportunity. My sister & self wished to go, till we were told that the friends requested none but a few men to accompany them. We therefore went to the burial of the widow Miles from whence we called at J. Metford's, whose little boy appeared very ill & used crutches. This day I received an affecting letter from S. Warne. After giving a melancholy account of the depredations made by the French, which had driven them from Trepassy to St. John's she adds "When I look back seven years, it appears to me as if I had been trying to catch bubbles in the air & have now no hope of doing anything here." On reading her letter I felt a wish it might be right for her & her little daughter to return to England, & with a variety of sensations I contrasted her situation with my own. In the last week I had a visit from Charlotte Rees. I remember some time since when I called on her mother, she told me whilst I was sitting with her, that she considered her as a blessing sent from heaven; & that she believed she was (3 or 4 years before) the means of saving her from despair. For on seeing her once overwhelmed with grief, this infant almost as to years, being only 9, knelt down & audibly prayed for her; which petition, she said was mercifully answered.

Second mo. 1st This day I have passed 55 years in this world of vicissitudes. Much of my weary pilgrimage is over; & O may the remainder whether long or short, be spent in the earnest pursuit of the "one thing needful."

2nd Completed our 7 years of marriage. I have found verified an observation of my brother T's that in consenting to accept my valued friend's proposal, I had done an act of which I should never repent. About this time my friend F. Pinnock had one of her trying attacks. It was astonishing human nature could sustain such a state of pain & oppression without endangering life. In the course of this month I had an interview with Mary Stanton who was about to leave Frenchay school.

12th At the morning meeting Sam^l Dyer solemnly prayed that the Almighty would be pleased to avert the heavy calamity with which this nation was threatened, & hasten the glorious day when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth &c. T. Rutter afterwards, in Testimony said he was led to a state, who, he believed, were saying in their heart, "Spare thy people O Lord, & spare this nation" adding, "come what will, these would be preserved amidst the commotions that are in the earth these would be sheltered under Immanuel's wing." Being before occupied by the subject it proved the more salutary to my mind.

20th At noon my brother brought two interesting pieces of intelligence—one was that poor little Joe Metford that morning had his leg taken off; the other that G. Champion had a commission given him. 3rd day John James dwelt sweetly on the subject of charity or love. Afterwards George Withy was engaged on the sufferings of our ancestors, desiring that we might be actuated by the same principle that had enabled them to sustain a fight of afflictions. Then might we, with some gone before us, have to feel at the final close "God to be over all."

28th We were informed that an express arrived the preceeding evening that the bank of England had stopped payment. This news was received with universal consternation; & though by some it was considered a political step, by others it was supposed to be the forerunner of national bankruptcy. I was pleased in observing my husband was one who had not much apprehension from it; not only from my opinion of his judgment, but because it releaved me from a fear I had of its alarming him. This event led to a train of reflections ofn the precious promises in the gospel from that gracious Provider who feeds the ravens.

29th My sister called in her way from town with an account that the French were again landed in Wales; that in consequence the drums had beat to arms to collect the military, & that they were immediately dispatched to the scene of action. After dinner a report reached us that the contents of a letter sent by express to General Rook was fabricated. I went to Union St. where I met a large number of gentlemen & respectable tradesmen going as volunteers to the French prison in order to do duty in the absence of the soldiers. Yet I had the satisfaction of taking home an account that the party of horse soon returned, having heard the report [of the French having landed] contradicted before they reached the Passage; & by the evening peace & quiet was restored in the city, after a day of tumult. About this time we heard of the removal of poor Thos: Frank in America.^{zz} Also that Sam^l Emlen had taken his passage home without attempting to visit his favourite city, not being able to travel. I longed to 3rd mo go to see him in Liverpool. His stay in

^{zz} He died (probably late) in 1796. [J.F.]

England had been short. Mary Stanton brought M. & J. Clark to dinner. We had a deal of conversation, & parted, I believe, with mutual good wishes. Her pretty little boy was with her, of whom she appeared very fond. M. Lloyd drank tea with us; she was going to return to her little pleasant abode at Stoke. In the next week I had a tea visit from S. Harford. The Blind Asylum committee was held at our house.

21st I accompanied my brother & sister T. to drink tea with Mary Mills, where I had anticipated much rational entertainment, which it was my own fault if I did not enjoy. But I really believe, by visiting so little, the love of home is so increased as to dis-qualify one from being so happy elsewhere. But the love of home is a great source of comfort.

About this time people generally were complaining; myself of the number & took a ride on a double horse, called & drank tea at Whitehall.

4th mo 17th Drank tea with my brother & sister, Esther, & Hetty C. at Anna Goldney's. We were pleased to see her so comfortable in her own house. Three days after I spent a comfortable afternoon with A. Fry.

22nd My sister E. Fox & Lovall arrived. Sally Bawden came with them to visit her uncle & aunt T. She went with her uncle to London in about 10 days, where he left her to stay till after the yearly meeting. The subject of poor L. Prideaux's situation seemed to have taken deep root in her kind aunt's [E. Fox] mind. My own was, indeed much interested in it, as well as exceedingly occupied by it, by night as well as by day; but I was relieved by my husband's kind offer of assisting her. An accidental entertaining tea visit from our neighbour W. P. Lunell much pleased us. A great deal, about this time, was said of the riots among the sailors at Portsmouth.

5th mo 7th Yearly Meeting. I accompanied my husband to Temple Street on the 1st day morning, thinking it would be most quiet. Rich. Gilks preached, & in the evening I had once more the pleasure of hearing my old friend Jonathan Binns who had drunk tea with us. The concluding meeting was (as last year) on 3rd day the Q. M. on 2nd day. 4th day after tea at my brother T.'s. we received an account of the decease of W^m Cookworthy who, 3 days before, as he was walking in a field at Secker's Bridge, with his wife, fell down in an apoplectic fit, & never afterwards spoke, though he continued to breathe, & apparently to suffer till the 9th inst.

11th J. Binns & his brother T. Binns dined with us. Received a letter from Sam^l Sanders, the companion of my infant days, in very lively terms expressing the pleasure he had in hearing I was still living, & in the prospect of once more seeing his juvenile friend. The next day we spent at M. Dimsdale's, where were still poor G. & S. Champion; but they were going to settle in Wales.

19th We spent @ Matt. Wright's. Previous to our going there C. Fox (the pleasing wife of Dr. Fox) introduced little C. Fox the daughter of my friend Catharine Fox, who was at Bath nursing her sick husband. She was an agreeable child about 8 years old. I had also received the expected visit from Sam^l Sanders. Our, meeting, after 45 years absence, was I believe, mutually pleasing. I thought I could recognize some of the features of my playfellow. He informed me that he had practised physic 12 years, buried 3 wives & met with various scenes. He had lodgings at Brislington. He dined with us the following week & occasionally visited us while he remained in this part of the world. About this time Dr. Fox paid my husband a medical visit on account of his still complaining of a pain in his breast. My too anticipating mind was much exercised on this occasion, but I desired not to dwell on the painful subject & that the best help might be given us both. All here is uncertain, & notwithstanding appearances, I may first be called home. Hetty C. came home from Stoke just after the doctor left, & sympathized with me. Went to Bath soon after to fetch home our sister E. Fox & to see G. & C. Fox. The latter were so afflicted with complaints, as to preclude enjoyment & awaken sympathy. We brought our sister E.F. & Hetty C. came home with Lovall. Very sultry weather with thunder at this time.

Sixth Mo. With our guests we spent an agreeable afternoon with J. & M. Waring. J.W. read to us a letter from Sam^l Emlen Jun^r which brought to my remembrance his good mother's prayers for him, as related to him by his father at the side of her grave many years after her death.

In two days after I was informed that my sister was very poorly & wished to see me. The next day I was driven to Hambrook by John Pince. I found her worse than I expected. Words cannot express my sympathy; yet I was sensible she had a divine support, of which I partook during my stay with her. After my return I had the inexpressible satisfaction of hearing from my brother of her amendment, & from this time, with little interruption, she continued to get better. Mary Dudley was about this time, in Bristol & several times engaged in the ministry in a way that excited & deserved admiration. I began to be very uneasy about my husband, whose complaints seemed to be increased by company; & it was determined, as soon as our guests left us, to go into the country. On the 21st therefore, Hetty with us, we took a ride to Hallen to see if G. Hunt's apartments would suit us. Here we staid tea. On our return found W^m Clark, who was come to fetch his daughters. He accompanied us the next afternoon to drink tea at Stoke.

25th After my sister E. Fox & myself were set out for even^g meeting, we were called back to our friend Catharine Fox. Few of my acquaintance there were whose society I so much enjoyed; yet this was not the time when I was capable of relishing it, as we had already a full house & the master of it evidently so poorly as to be made worse by company. The next was a day of

hurry & confusion. Poor C.F. was very unwell, & Hetty C. went to bed ill, but soon recovered. On 3rd day E. Fox went to Frenchay Quar^y M. {i.e. Quarterly Meeting} and left our agreeable visitor with me, as she was not able to go. By this means I had a little enjoyable intercourse. She went to dine at Dr. Fox's, where Lovall & myself were conveyed in their carriage to take leave of her & see her set out for Bath. I thought as I was sitting with the Kitty Foxes that two such women were rarely to be met with.

29th Our guests left us, with Peggy Fox Jun. (who came to Bristol some days before & lodged at her uncle G. Bush's.) They went in 2 chaises W^m Clark & 2 daughters, my sister E.F., Lovall & Peggy Fox. Immediately after their departure we set about preparing to go to Hallen. By noon next day I was so exceedingly fatigued that I anticipated the time of our being settled in the country as a most desirable period of quiet rest. Such I found it, but only till I rose the next morning, at a late hour; and, I might almost say literally no longer. Possibly it produced much the same effect as I have frequently found the recovery of a friend to do. One generally keeps up through the fatiguing time, but feels it afterwards. Whatever was the cause, I think I did not enjoy more than 3 days health & spirits during the 7 weeks we staid at Hallen. My mind was far from the state longed for, & strong cries for help were at times raised that patience might have its perfect work; & blessed be the all sufficient Power, I trust I did not ask or suffer in vain; but I found the necessity of watchfulness. My brother & sister T. visited us 2 or 3 times, & left Esther with us while they went to Melksham. Though Hetty C. was low & poorly as well as myself, we had the satisfaction of observing the good effect of country air & quiet on my best friend. Whilst at Hallen I read an excellent book (given me at 17 years of age) Mason on selfknowledge; & thought myself very usefully employed in the persual. We exchanged visits with the family at Blaize Castle; & I walked to Henbury & visited many well known parts, particularly "the pleasant home" where I lived with my brother & sister C. It was now in the possession of a gentleman (T. Daniel) who had a very amiable wife. On First day George Withy attended the morning meeting at Lawrence Weston, & had an evening one at George Hunt's.

8th mo 8th David Sands,¹²⁸ who had without previous notice visited the week day meeting at Lawrence Weston, came to dine at G. Hunts. My husband & self were not at meeting for want of a conveyance. Hearing his voice, after dinner, I went in, & some time after I was seated, he addressed me as one who, though I had, he believed, my lot cast in a smooth place outwardly, was not without my conflicts &c. In what he said to the young people he spoke so pointedly to Sally Eady's later & present situation, as soon drew tears from her eyes; which raised my sympathy, as well as thankfulness that I had taken to her. David had never seen any of us before. One day Sam^l Were dined with us; he was paying his addresses to Nancy Fletcher. I went to Bristol only 4 times, & always on a double horse. The second time was in

consequence of hearing that W^m Savory was to be at Bristol Meeting, & glad I was to hear such a minister, whose mind seemed so enlarged by universal love that it was difficult to perceive to what sect he belonged; & I think I may venture to pronounce him, every advantage unitedly considered, the best preacher I have ever yet heard. At my next visit David Sands was at Bristol Meeting, & excellently engaged to various states, afterwards in prayer. The last time I went was on the 11th of 8th mo., when I rose so ill, after a poor night, that I was ready to hope the horse would not come, but its appearance determined me to use it. From the turnpike I went in the rain to Patty Young's, who had married since we went in the country. After all her troubles, she seemed happily settled in her own house. From thence, with difficulty, I walked to meeting & with difficulty sate the two hours; in the course of which I heard a very good Testimony from David Sands, who, at the close of the meeting, requested to see the heads of families that same evening. This, with feeling unable to return to Hallen with tolerable ease on horseback, determined me to stay. I sat better through the evening meeting, at the close of which David requested an opportunity with the youth next morning at 10 o' clock. I had tolerable rest that night & next morning rode back, meeting in my way a cargo of young people from Hallen on their way to attend the meeting appointed by David Sands. During our stay in the country, we were often kindly accommodated, with a conveyance to L.W. meeting by G. Hunt. Going to a meeting which I once attended called forth many affecting recollections of some long lost & much loved friends; "But why their loss deplore that are not lost."

8th mo. 18th We left Hallen & with much satisfaction entered our peaceful dwelling in James' Square; where we found the house in good order & the garden delightful, & I had the still greater pleasure of my husband's returning pretty well.

28th My cousin Dimsdale her daughter, brother R. & his daughter Eliza Champion dined with us. Eliza Champion a pleasant sound to me, as it once belonged to my amiable innocent niece long since in bliss. The present possession of that name was a pretty girl of 14 years of age, who seemed as well pleased with the world as the other was unfit for it. From her exposed situation; I beheld her with a compassionate eye; & the same sensations were excited for her poor father who appeared pleased to see his old friends.

9th mo 1st I spent at Hambrook with my sister; who, though much better was still in a state to engage my tender sympathy. The next morning Esther came to spend a few days previous to their return from the country. S. Eady at the same time left Hallen to come to be resident with us, professedly to learn arithmetice & clear-starching.

4th Dined with us S. Lambly & A. Ashby who were paying family visits. In this opportunity, though both preached nothing particular was said. My brother & sister soon after returned from Hambrook to their own house.

20th The Quarterly Meeting, attended as usual by good old S. Clothier Bryant. After dinner, called on M. Helton who was lately returned from Ireland. S. Young went with me from a little house in Paul St, where she & her husband resided. I drank tea with M. Stanton who kept school on Kingsdown. She had this day added to her family the two motherless daughters of George Fisher. That day H. & M. Davies dined with us, & went after to stay at Bath. The next day, while we were busy in the green-house, Jos: Cockfield, his daughter & H. Gurney called. They were joined by G. & S. Harrison, who, on the following afternoon with an elegant looking daughter, & a fine boy about 7 years old, came to tea. The same evening we had the expected information that M. Pince was confined with a daughter (in Corn St.) who was called Esther Joan.^{aaa}

13th I spent very agreeably at Moorend, driven there by my friend Thos: Rutter, whose society proved a renewal of former enjoyments, not having for a long time, had an opportunity of conversing with him so uninterruptedly as in this ride. About this time having been informed that a visit to our afflicted neighbour Bengough would be acceptable, my niece & myself drank tea with her. I had wished to pay her a visit ever since I had heard of the decease of her daughter—the last of 3 children. One of them, a son, had been killed by a fall from his horse not long since. Soon after she retired to seclusion with her daughter who was then in a poor state of health & did not long survive her brother. After the last deprivation she returned to James' Square with her daughter's companion, a genteel, sensible woman. Time, & I hope something better, had a little improved her spirits, but her health appeared to be giving way. She received us in the most friendly manner, her fine expressive countenance bidding us welcome, & at parting she requested a repetition of such visits. I thought she felt, as I did this meeting to be a revival of our youthful days on our memory. At that time she was the darling & only daughter of very indulgent parents, but on one subject perhaps, their wish to see their daughter, what is called, well settled in the world mistled them. She had long been the wife of a respectable lawyer, in many respects a worthy man, but as a companion to such a woman, how very unequal! Indeed she appeared to me, both on this & former occasions, to be a charming person, "so much of what the heart wishes & the eye seeks for" in a female. In this week we had two breakfast visits from my late lively friend Sam^l Sanders, who was on his way to Wilts, where he intended to settle.

^{aaa} Who became the wife of Peter Challacombe (apothecary of Milk St. Bristol) & the mother of J. P. Challacombe M.D. (now 1871) of Kings Square Bristol. [J.F.]

16th On my return from spending the morning in Berkely Square, I was in Corn St. informed by my brother T. that he had received an offer from J. Stanfield for E. H. Champion he having requested to be admitted to visit her on his return from a journey he was about to take—an important subject to me who so much wished her welfare every way.

29th In the afternoon Hetty C. read to her aunt T. & me an account of Margaret Lucas. O whar are now our sufferings for the Testimony of Jesus. I also wish to commemorate some comfortable feelings, some days before, on my sisters reading to me some Part of Baxter's Saints' Rest, which corresponded with a favoured season previously that I trust will be remembered under a sense of grateful admiration & praise. Seldom, indeed, are such seasons experienced by me; perhaps because not enough sought or not sought aright; but O when found, when tasted, how insipid is all else beneath the seen—"vanity of vanities"—shadow of shadows.

12th mo 1st Received a letter from our sister E. Fox expressing her intention to give up her house to her widowed niece, remaining in it as her boarder. Though feeling much interested in all L. Prideaux's concerns, I could not help fearing that the noise of children would too much encroach on her aunt's comforts. Yet as the desire of assisting the widow & fatherless, by the only way in her power, seemed to be her governing motive, it would, I hoped, bring with it its own reward. The next morning I met at my sisters the new married pair S. & A. Were, who immediately left Bristol. The following week Hetty C & myself twice visited Peter's Hospital. On our coming out of it, though some improvements had been made, not at all relieved of many of the unpleasant feelings with which my mind had been assailed, we were met by young David—one of those who had humanely given up much of his time, & paid daily attention to the improvement of this place. At his particular request we met him the following 6th day, & he took us through that part of the house which had been lately fitted up, & put under better regulations. The ward where my compassion was most drawn out was that which exhibited vice united with disease. For these there was no asylum after they were cured. The insane ward I wished to have avoided, but being much pressed into it, had not resolution to refuse. I hastily cast my eyes round this scene of human misery withdrawing from it as soon as I could. We were afterwards (not in the insane ward) introduced to a woman whose constant petition was that she might be buried alive; & if at any time, the dead house was left open, she would hide herself in it. I talked to her but could get nothing from her of any other nature. She said if she was not entombed alive, she should stay on the earth till the end of the world. She appeared to be in an agony while speaking, & told me she had neither eat nor drunk for five years. & though this account was thought incredible, it could not be found that any one had given her food or seen her eat. She was generally quiet & industrious & would iron for a whole day together. Truly

humiliating was our visit, & enough to prove an antidote against pride in a poor creature so liable to such a disease as we are individually.

22nd The remains of Dinah Simpson interred from Friars Meeting.

25th J. Stanfield being returned renewed his application; & it was agreed he should meet my brother & sister in their family visit that afternoon. He came & made two afterwards, but the result was that she did not choose to proceed, & therefore not judging it right to keep him in suspense, the affair was put an end to by my husband who seemed to feel for him as he appeared much attached. A very unpleasant circumstance, at the same time engaged our attention. It was that of Gabriel Goldney (successor to Ann G. arresting John Pinnock for £200 without even asking him to pay it. It was lent by A. Goldney, & therefore never had been in his possession. Poor F.P. was alarmingly distressed on this occasion & we were therefore very desirous of getting her relief. For this purpose my husband first sent G.G. a letter, to which he obtained no reply. The next morning Edward Ash¹¹³ & my brother went to him; but he could not be prevailed upon to give up the debt without receiving 20 guineas with the payment of costs. Very soon a plan was fixed on, & I went to Clifton in a coach with F.P. for her to settle the matter. But finding her unable, I left her at Anna G.'s & once more entered the dwelling at which I had so often been welcomed by my late ancient friend. I was treated by G.G. with great civility as to manner; yet he refused all accommodation but what he had proposed. However, I had soon the satisfaction of joining my friend at A.G.'s & relieving her mind from a heavy burden. She had the pleasure of receiving her husband home in the afternoon. Swift winged Time has bought us to the last day of 1797. Heavy taxes & fears of an invasion have as, at former seasons, been much talked about. "Much has been said of Revolutions, but the revolution of time is far more interesting to us all than that of any other—all around us is changeable."

1798

First mo 7th First day. Being kept at home by a severe frost, I read much in Job Scott's journal, some parts of which were delightful to my best feelings. Truly may it be said though dead he speaks.

20th Visited F. Pinnock on her recovery from a severe illness, the consequence of her husbands being arrested. Heard of W^m Savery¹¹⁴ being in Bristol. He attended the two meetings at the Friars, where he preached in a most extraordinary manner. Between the meetings I went to T. Rutters where he dined. The company was too large for much conversation, though he spoke casually on subjects as they occurred with that easy freedom which denotes the man of sense & good breeding. His countenance bespoke an

open good disposition. I thought I had seen enough of him to confirm the idea I had entertained of him. When he left the company, I returned home to tea, after which I accompanied our agreeable neighbour Bengough & her companion to meeting, which was crowded beyond what I ever remember to have seen it before. This added to their being near double the number of candles, occasioned it to be oppressively warm. Yet under every fatiguing inconvenience, it was delightful to sit under the ministry of this extraordinary man, who stood an hour & a half, tho' little remains on my memory. He was afterwards solemnly engaged in fervent supplication. He left Bristol the next day for Bath to a meeting there. Many from Bristol accompanied him—my brother T. of the number, who came home 3rd day to invite his wife to go back with him in order to attend a second appointed meeting there. When she was sent for from our house, where she had come to dine, I felt a strong inclination to accompany her, for if there is any one thing I enjoy more than another, it is to hear such preaching & be in such company. However, after further thinking about it, it appeared to me right to give it up; & it happened, that instead of this high gratification I had to entertain Anna Fox from 3 till 8. The next day, after dinner, rece^d a morning visit from Lady Littleton. About half past 6 o'clock my brother & sister returned from Bath, much pleased with their excursion. After the meeting at Bath, the following appeared in the papers:—"On Monday evening the 22nd, the Quakers meeting house was exceedingly crowded to hear a preacher from America, who for good sense, fluency of language, & eloquence, is justly celebrated. He preached again last night at the Independant meeting house in Laura place, which was also numerously attended. He is a man of prepossessing appearance & address, mild & persuasive in manner, & uncommonly liberal in his sentiments. His name is W^m Savery."

2nd mo 1st This day 56 years old. "With nearly 60 autumns on its head, A birthday brings a sober cast of thought." This morning visited my poor aunt Champion who was nearly reduced to a second childhood.

2nd The anniversary of a marriage in which one source of peace has arisen from being united to one who seems at peace with himself.

4th First day The remains of W^m Adlam were interred at the adjoining yard. He died suddenly. At both T.R. excellent. In this week paid, with my sister, M. Dimsdale a visit on the removal of her uncle Whitehead.

25th First day. In the evening had some conversation with Shurmer Bath which reminded me of former times.

3rd mo 5th day We drank tea at aunt Berry's comfortably. In this same week received an account that P. Dearman on the day she buried a fine little girl of 6 years old, was confined with another daughter whom they called Mary.

23rd Drank tea with our old friend Beck. She was in full possession of her faculties & in good spirits. The next afternoon I spent with S. Bush, who appeared to possess that degree of resignation of which peace is the result. When we were alone she talked in a way as if she did not expect to recover. She expressed much anxiety about John & Caroline B. Though pleased I had paid this visit, I felt more reserve than I wished, on the subject of her removal, though I did not desire to begin it. On taking my leave, I expressed my satisfaction at seeing her so comfortable. Her mother & sister were soon expected from London. On my return home, I found my sister & G. Withy come to spend the evening.

25th In consequence of my labouring at times under many trying complaints, my husband took me to spend a week at Bath. Hetty went with us. We were soon settled in amusing lodgings in Bond Street. Thos: Fox, his wife, & two daughters were at Bath, with whom we exchanged visits. At their lodgings I met with an old Cheltenham acquaintance—the widow Hancock. Harry & Molby Davies paid us much attention—once we dined with them. I paid one or two visits to the Moores {the Moors—M.D.} (Hannah was in London) & found them much interested about W^m Savery, who had met W^m Wilberforce¹¹⁵ at their house. They related some animated & animating conversation they had with W^m S. from whom their sister Hannah had since received a letter. 1st day George Champion spent [the afternoon] with us.

Afterwards Hetty & myself paid a visit to an old gentlewoman named Tag in her 96th year. She had a fine countenance, was upright, sensible, & conversable, though deaf. We were much pleased with the opportunity of seeing her, for which we were indebted to our friend M. Beck. We had sometimes the pleasure of Mary Bath's company & Shurmer called on us the day of our arrival & once afterwards. He kept lodgings at Bath to receive patients. Many of his friends regretted that so much of his time was thus occupied, as it not only deprived them of his society but of his watchfulness in the Church, as well as of his attendance at meetings for worship. We expected my brother & sister to spend the day, but the weather & her being troubled with the tooth-ache prevented. I received a letter from her by George, which I answered immediately.^{bbb} At the end of the week we returned home, my health much improved by the use of the waters; & I felt better than for a long time. The 7th day after our return, my husband was seized with a shivering fit in the evening, but was, beyond my expectation recovered by a good night's rest.

^{bbb} This was the last letter I ever wrote to her, though at the time I had no such idea. The following was the conclusion "Farewell my beloved sister. Often, very often art thou in my thoughts, & at times a hope is comfortably felt that we shall meet & enjoy the society of each other in a state beyond the reach of sorrow & of change." {SCF}

4th mo 12th In my way to Berkeley Square I saw S. Bush pass from her mother's coach through the shop upstairs, looking shockingly ill. The sympathy & regard, this sight produced remained long with me. The next day I paid an affecting visit to the widow Randal who was afflicted with a greivous disease—a cancer. In the evening I called to see Patty Young who was now near lying in, with her first child.

15th Our Yearly Meeting. At Temple Street in the morning a friend of the name of Rickman, Ann Byrd, & M. Bawden were the strangers; also S. Squires. S. Dyer concluded the last meeting with a solemn caution—that the good influence, under which he believed we were about to separate might not be lost. Thus ended our Yearly Meeting, & should it be the last, as some seem to expect, I have this Testimony to bear, with many better judges than myself, that it has been a favoured season, & left a pleasant & profitable savour. 5th day this week Aunt Berry joined us at tea: before which Dr. Ludlow with J. Duck, paid my husband a medical visit. About this time there was renewed talk of the French landing in England; & I am sorry to say I was sometimes sensible of slavish fears; while my sister seemed too much occupied by the uncertainty of life to think of the subject with apprehension.

23rd In the morning I was benefited by the conversation of a friend whose resigned piety proved a useful lesson to me & tended to quiet the fears which were gaining ground.

About this time I was sent for to my brother T.'s to see an old friend of my youthful days, whom I once dearly loved. At that time by being in a reduced state she was a nursemaid to Frank Rogers's family. After some painful changes in this state, she was married to a man of fortune in the Society, who left her a rich widow with one son. She afterwards pleased herself in a second choice. She appeared very glad to see us, & the interview occasioned many recollections—some that I wished to revive in her mind but no opportunity offered.

24th At the Monthly Meeting was engaged that truly Christian warrior S. Stevenson. I beheld her as a valiant soldier fighting under his banner who was never failed in battle, & who will finally make them conquerors who follow him fully. After drinking tea in the garden I enjoyed reading Young's Night Thought's there. All things smiled around me. The creation looked gay & afforded me an animating source of reflection on that period "when one unbounded spring encircles all."

29th First day was interred from the morning meeting, a son of the widow Baker's; at which we were favoured with much good preaching. The next day we spent with Anna G. at Clifton. In consequence of this visit my husband took cold.

5th mo 2nd 4th day My brother & sister drank tea with us in the garden.^{ccc} 5th After an uncomfortable ride to Stoke on horse-back, I spent a very comfortable day there with S. Bush, who appeared exceedingly weak & emaciated. It was what I had earnestly wished to be with her uninterrupted by company; which was the case (except about half an hour) when I wandered about the house & gardens, enjoying the recollection of some juvenile feelings. It was here that I enjoyed the natural sunshine of the mind in a high degree; it was here that I felt all the sensations of a young & ardent girl on first setting out in a world where,

“I dreamed of things impossible
Of joys perpetual in perpetual change.”

It was on this spot also my young mind felt the first lasting & awakening impressions—that I learned to be dissatisfied with myself, & panted after a bitter inheritance than this world could afford me. S.H. Jun. brought me to the turnpike, from whence I walked home with Hetty C. & Fanny P., calling to see my sister who had been at Moorend¹¹⁶ to tea. The next morning I found her poorly, after an almost sleepless night; but she went to meeting & appeared pleased she had done so. After which I had an uncommonly interesting conversation with her at her own house. In the afternoon she was able to go to Corn Street to drink tea with M. Pince, & called upon me in her way thither. The next morning feeling uneasy about her, & being, (as I had ever) tremblingly alive to whatever she suffered, I went to her after breakfast, where I found my fears confirmed of an increase of nervous symptoms, though her looks were animated. She had slept little, & rose early from great restlessness. I spent most of the morning with her & her kind husband was with her all the afternoon when she employed herself in knitting, he reading to her. The next morning I saw her before Meeting & thought her better. She was preparing to go to meeting, but promised me to stay at home the remainder of the day. & indeed she was never afterwards from her house. In the evening she wrote to E. Fox & on my brother's calling on me to go to meeting, he told me she was much better; & I remarked then I hoped he would be able to pursue his intention of going to the London Yearly Meeting. I now grew easier, but this lasted not long; for on 2nd day morning I found her worse. She was in bed & wept at seeing me but found no relief from it of any continuance, tho' she was down stairs this & the following day; after which she was wholly confined to her bed. After the fever increased & she was not at times sensible, she would yet have the scriptures read to her & repeated many beautiful parts of Isaiah, often fervently praying. Once she said to me, “there is no one knows what I suffer;

^{ccc} How mercifully is the future veiled from us. How little did I imagine that this would be the last visit I should receive from my beloved sister—yet so it proved. {SCF}

yet, I dare say, not more than is necessary for me. Christ Jesus died for sinners." On this rock she built her hopes. After she knew no one, I could not bear to be much with her. I well knew from the extreme delicacy of both her mind & body, that her sufferings must be very great. When Dr. Ludlow was sent for to some distance J. Duck attended her, & expressed some apprehensions of danger the beginning of the second week. Spasms came on fast—one in her throat lasted 8 hours. A drowsiness & quiet nights succeeded, which my brother, taking for quiet sleep flattered himself was a prelude to amendment. 6th day after hearing she had a favourable night I went to her & found her apparently sinking fast. Dr. Ludlow was again sent for; but had not yet returned; nor was J. Duck easily found. When he saw her he gave no hope but of a few hours life. The stroke came more heavy to her affectionate husband because it was unexpected. I staid that night in the house, intending to set up; but about 12, feeling myself incapable, & the dear object, over whom I had watched with unremitting attention from her infant years, being a little revived, I lay down in the next room; where being told she had again spoken, I got a little sleep, but on going to her at 5 o'clock found her much as I had left her. After stepping over to see my husband & the poor child (who was very much affected with her dear Mamma's illness) I returned to the bedside of my beloved sister, in whom from this time till the solemn close, little alteration appeared except, now & then, a little revival. Once she opened her eyes & fixed them on her afflicted husband, after he thought them closed for ever, in a manner that left us no room to doubt that she was sensible though she could not then speak so as to be understood. Only once, on his feeling her pulse, lamenting it was a poor one, she distinctly pronounced the word "happy." At another time she looked earnestly up, & seemed pleased with something she said she saw in white; & once she was heard to say "Eternity." But no more of what she uttered could be clearly understood. Feeling much for her nearest earthly friend, who had so long watched over her, I was relieved by his informing me that he felt himself unequal to be a witness of the last conflict, & would endeavour to retire & lie down in the next room. I then took my station in the easy chair at the farthest side of the bed, desiring, with all the little strength I had, that I might be favoured with help equal to the occasion. Hetty C. who had been her aunt's daily kind nurse, her own nurse maid, Betty Lewellen, & M. Pince, lately her valued servant & still her valued friend, were present. How I felt at this awfully interesting period no language can express, or what were my exercises in mental supplication to the all-sufficient Helper that he would be near to my dying sister & friend—that he would enable me to sympathize with her as long as she remained in mutability—that He would be pleased to restrain in me every impatient wish to shorten her time of trial that she might be so refined that the glorious work might be accomplished, & might be received by her great Deliverer who triumphed over, death, hell & the grave. In the afternoon of the 19th at 1/2 past three, the weary spirit found rest. All

was still—and oh! the last, last silence of a friend. What more than human peace I felt is not for me to attempt to express; or how; till that moment of deliverance, my labouring mind found rest. After quietly sitting still near an hour, I heard my brother moving, & as I answered his earnest inquiries, strove to offer him consolation from those sources whence I had been favoured to draw it. He was much afflicted & seemed exquisitely to feel the separation from the companion of his joys & sorrows for near 24 years. He went into her chamber to take a last look, in which Hetty C. accompanied him, I joined him & my husband at tea, when he requested to see his & the dear deceased's beloved child, whom M. Pince fetched. Her sobs were heard as she was brought down the garden. The moment she saw her father, she threw herself in his arms, & both wept together for a considerable time. After the first emotions were over we were mercifully favoured with sensible supports, for which I trust, our spirits were measurably prostrated in humble thankfulness to the great Author of this inestimable blessing. I returned home about 8 o'clock with my husband & left Hetty C. with my brother & Esther for the evening. The next morning I went to the house of mourning, where, I believe, many who visited, found it better than going to the house of mirth. I thought I felt peace within its walls. Yet fully convinced as I was of her happiness by my own feelings, a desire arose in my heart that I might receive a confirmation from minds capable of feeling, which desire was granted in a visit from Arnee Frank, who, after a solemn silence, delivered the following,—“I had no wish to intrude on this select company, but from a brotherly sympathy with the afflicted, I have felt under a sweet influence, that it is well with the deceased. Therefore, we sorrow not as those without hope, I trust thou wilt be favoured with resignation to His will, without whose permission nothing can befall us. I have no doubt of thy support, as well as of ability to take care of thy tender charge. I am thankful to be able to mourn with those that mourn, as well as to rejoice with them that rejoice.” This visit, as well as one a little before from H. Stevenson, was a cordial to my spirits, & I was made sensible of the same peace which seemed to attend her mind which she said she felt while sitting among us saying “Our being measurably favoured with resignation was a great satisfaction to her the more to be valued because it was not at our command.” At different parts of her soothing testimony she repeated & applied the following beautiful passages of scripture, “I will keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on me because he trusteth in me.” “Trust in the Lord Jehovah for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength.” She concluded with the desire that this might be our language “Not my will but thine be done.” Many other kind sympathizing friends called to see us J. & M. Pince daily through the week. This simple hearted truly religious man seemed dipped into sympathy with us. I once remember as I stood by him in the garden, he said “how much he wished those who were engaged in worldly pursuits could taste the peace to be enjoyed even at such a season;” (adding) methinks the cup overfloweth.

Our friend T. Rutter drank tea with us the 2nd day. Whilst he was with us it seemed to me as if a communion with my beloved sister was sensibly to be felt with inexpressible sweetness; a belief which was confirmed by T.R. who, after a considerable time of silence, said (first speaking of the deceased as being taken in mercy &c) "he believed it to be a just way of thinking that as death could not dissolve a spiritual union, so he was convinced the influence of our departed friends was permitted to console & assist us even whilst we are in the body, & to comfort us through our pilgrimage;" concluding with mentioning the instance of Mary Pennington's accompanying the pure spirit of her husband to his heavenly mansion, then returning to pay the last offices to the body. He observed that "though we might not be favoured in equal degree yet some sense & might be afforded us"—a sense I shall ever believe I was at that time in a particular manner favoured with. We had also one day a very desirable visit from Samuel Dyer¹¹⁷ who, in a lively manner, spoke of the consolation the removal of the dear deceased afforded, he having us doubt, or shadow of doubt, of her being safe in a blissful eternity. He then recommended the example of David who fasted & wept while his son was yet alive, but when he was dead, he anointed himself & eat, saying his child could not return but he might go to him. "He concluded with expressing an ardent desire that we might be thus favoured & even able to rejoice that our beloved relative's spirit was freed from its bands & entered into everlasting rest." George Withy, in one of his kind visits, expressed "a belief that the Lord had not forsaken us; adding that his very soul rejoiced in the remembrance of the deceased, believing her to be gone where the wicked cease from troubling & the weary are at rest"—with much more that I cannot clearly recollect. He afterwards told us that he felt in an uncommon manner, in spending an evening with my brother & sister just before he left home, the uncertainty of life; & that, he was, at the time, oppressed with the idea or apprehension, of their never meeting again in mutability; which he then attributed to the uncertainty of his own life. These & many other visits did we receive—I was very much with my brother & Esther at this season. My husband & Hetty C. were also often with us. Had my sister lived one day longer, it would have been 25 years since the time of our being in danger of drowning. Quickly have these years passed, & how many more I may have to live in this foreign land is hid in the bosom of futurity. & when the principal business for which we are sent into the world is completed, I trust I shall again meet the companions of my youth—my dear Sukey [Rogers] & Hetty (as they once were called) in the realms of Light, Joy, & Love! Not long before the removal of the latter, she dreamed she was in a coach with her beloved Sukey—that there was a veil between them which was soon removed, & they were rejoiced to meet; & they are now, I trust, enjoying the society of each other in that city which the glory of the Lord enlightens & the Lamb is the light thereof.

During this time my health was but little affected, though I slept less than usual, & the night previous to the burial scarcely at all. A large company met in stillness—the cavalcade long—the meeting, I believe, satisfactory but I was too much worn out to feel as I could wish. The mortal part was not that to which I was united. We rode home together in solemn silence, but my husband & self dined at home & went over directly after. T. & H.R. drank tea with us & brought Rachel, who was much affected at meeting poor Esther, as she was at receiving her.

26th First day. We attended the meeting which proved a trying season, particularly to my poor brother.

As soon as I was able I took Esther to see her aunt Tuckett who I knew, from her affection for my sister, would desire to see those nearly connected with her, but was now confined. The next day I was at the Monthly Meeting where I was so much affected by my sister's vacant seat there, that I went home before it broke up. My brother soon desired I would accompany him & Esther on a promised visit to H. Stevenson. I was also requested by my friend Anna Fry to go to see her, after she had written me a most affectionate letter on the subject.

6th mo 7th My brother took me to see poor S. Bush at Stoke—probably the last time we shall see her in mutability. She was going to the New Passage for further change of air.

11th Went with Hetty C. to visit the poor gardener at the Infirmary, who appeared to be in the last stage of a dropsy. This old man & his worthy wife had lived together more than 40 years, & seemed affectionately attached to each other.

21st Arrived Emma Berry & S. Tuckett in the evening. About this time I was much occupied by the interesting employment of reading my sister's letters.

22nd Were interred the remains of Mary Hingston the 2nd wife of James Hingston. She died of a very lingering disorder & left two little sons. Joseph Nicholson was at meeting & preached at both. He was reckoned a good preacher & seemed an agreeable man.

25th I felt my mind tenderly affected in parting with one of my brother's servants who had affectionately nursed her mistress in her illness. I had taken pains to provide her with a suitable place, in which I hope I succeeded. When the house was left with only myself & the dear object of her beloved Mamma's unremitting attention, I wept over her & desired to be enabled to fill the place of a mother to her as far as was consistent with my duty as a wife. This was the first night of her sleeping at home, as she had lodged at our house from the beginning of my sister's illness. The next day she breakfasted & dined with us, her father having gone to the Quarterly

Meeting at Frenchay, on account of which our mo. meeting was postponed till 6th day. At the meeting for worship then there were 13 preachers in the gallery,—P. H. Gurney, S. Talbot, S. Shackleton,¹¹⁸ S. Tuckett, J. Nicholson, S. Stevenson, & M. Howarth [were the strangers]. At this meeting, the latter, I believe, stood an hour & half, excellent on doctrine. At the adjournment of the women's meeting much was said about reading the women's epistle in publick.

28th This morning I staid with my brother T. having been informed that our friend S. Stevenson had a desire to pay him a visit. S. Tuckett & S. Talbot came with her. The whole opportunity was solemn & very affecting. Sally T. staid to dine with her brother, & we joined them at tea & accompanied them to a publick evening meeting appointed by desire of M. Howarth. It was opened by P. H. Gurney in a very solemn manner. After her J. Nicholson preached & then M. Howarth. She delivered an extraordinary Testimony & stood near an hour & a half. She is indeed a highly gifted minister. She concluded with a prayer in which she appeared to be equally favoured. Her sentiments were liberal, her doctrine sound, & her charity extensive. The crowd, the heat, & the length of the meeting were painful; & after it was over I could scarcely, from fatigue, walk home. My brother accompanied the Friends to Gloucester [next day] I drank tea with my agreeable neighbour Bengough, who, I had cause to believe, was engaged to seek for the best help under trials. The next evening visited the Orphan Asylum—a delightful sight. I went in company with Mary Fox (who was lately returned from B'ham) Emma Berry, F. Pinnock, Hetty C., Fanny & Esther.

7th month 1st The friends who began to visit families dined with us, before which we had the sitting. S. Talbot first addressed Hetty C. & S. Eady—then my husband & me on the uncertainty of life, or rather the necessity of preparing for its close. Next S. Tuckett with whom I had afterwards some conversation on a visit they had paid in the morning.

11th 4th day, met W^m Savery in the street. The next day I paid my aunt C. a visit, who appeared to me in a dying state, but she lived till the 23rd & I once afterwards saw her when she was a little revived, & conversed a short time.

After dinner I called at J. Lury's to see W^m Savery who I thought appeared low. He came to Bristol to look at a vessel about to sail from hence, in which he proposed to embark. He was at meeting & stood a considerable time, speaking on the words "Except your righteousness exceed that of the scribes & pharisees &c." His voice at this time was low & soothing, & he seemed filled with divine compassion. He returned to London after dinner.

18th I sat some time with my esteemed friend Eliz. Johnson, who was fast going towards her better home. She said she wanted to talk to me about the Blind school, which, when she was able, she often visited, & now by me sent

a present of a bible. It was a comfortable visit though she said little on any other subject, only in general that she was favoured to feel herself going, & that she found leaving her Christian friends a trial. My brother Fox came this evening. The following day I went with Esther to Moorend, passed a comfortable day & left my dear little niece with her good friends there. This day my brother set out for Ackworth. 7th day I received pleasure by reading in a letter of an offer from P. Prideaux to Hetty Bawden. The next day was buried from meeting in a yard adjoining W^m Gayner, a worthy man who had been my neighbour for many years & whom I had known from childhood. 3rd day S. Darby & S. Appleby were at meeting. The latter called & by her affectionate behaviour convinced me of the continuance of her regard.

4th day spent most of the morning with my cousin Dimsdale, in consequence of having received a note the day before of the removal of my aunt Champion on the 23rd Inst. John Pince who had been to see Esther gave me an acct {account} that she was well & happy, which gave me great pleasure.

27th 6th day Hearing W^m Savery was again come to J. Lury's I went there to take a letter to him to convey to Josiah Fox; but he did not leave Bristol till the following 4th day & preached this morning at meeting in his usual way, & afterwards petitioned for preservation from perils by water & among false brethren—with much I cannot recollect. I drank tea alone with my husband in the garden & afterwards copied one of my sister's letters written 35 years ago. 7th day though very unwell, being engaged to drink tea with M. Dimsdale, I went up the hill earlier in order to sit a little at John Helton's expecting W^m Savery was there. Though in this disappointed, I met S. Talbot, S. Tuckett & S. Shackleton who read to us a long letter from her sister with some tragical actts {accounts} of events in consequence of the rebellion in Ireland. In the morn^g W^m Savery again preached beautifully. In the even^g was a publick meeting & very much crowded. He rose very high & stood as long as ever, & was afterwards solemnly engaged in supplication. The next morning he was at my aunt C.'s burial at Redclift yard where he preached suitably to the occasion, but not long. Mary Lloyd of Birmingham & her companion drank tea with us expecting to meet W^m Savery but he came not. After supper I took Esther & Rachel Rutter to John Lury's where I had about ten minutes conversation with this interesting agreeable man, though only on common subjects; but the company was very large & the room very warm. The next morning he was again engaged in Testimony, beginning with a great part of the 1st Psalm. He afterwards prayed with his usual fervour. This 3rd day it was Monthly Meeting. After the men & women had separated, & we had been in our meeting a considerable time, W^m Savery paid us a visit (Thos: Rutter with him) where he delivered a most affecting Testimony which will, I hope be "as bread blessed by his maker, found after many days." He stood up almost immediately expressing his love for many in this city, believing he said, there were many pious souls without

as well as within the pale of this religious society. To these he had been much drawn both in his own country & in divers parts of Europe, yet he hoped he was not unmindful of us—that he feared there were some who having been drawn to the very threshold of our doors, had, in peeping in, gone away disappointed, not finding what their souls panted after. He expressed in the most persuasive language, the great importance of the example set to such, in a very close manner urging the necessity of being faithful to that which is made manifest in secret that none should endeavour to shun the cross, which will assuredly lead to the crown immortal; & that he believed some would be sent even to the highways & hedges to tell others what God had done for their souls. He said that their was a spiritual union quite independent of outward situation, which nothing in time, nor even death itself could dissolve. Here, I think he sat down, when Mary Lloyd knelt down & earnestly supplicated for those who were about to separate; but my feelings had been too much interested to retain much. Almost as soon as we sat down, W. Savery again stood up & I think concluded nearly thus, “And now I am about to leave this land, on a review of the two years spent in the different countries in Europe, there are many things I have omitted to do that I might have done.” (with many more expressions which seemed uttered in deep humility) & after all I feel myself an unprofitable servant, yet I may thankfully acknowledge I have been mercifully helped & supported in my little services; & now I will remember in the last meeting I attended before I left my endeared home & all that was dear to me in it, receiving with great sweetness this gracious promise, “Be thou faithful unto death, & I will give thee a crown of life”—the remembrance of which at this time sweetly impresses my mind, & I believe it will be so with you my dear friends if you are faithful. I feel an evidence of it. I hope I shall hear of many being preserved. & now I think I have finished my labours amongst you. I bid you farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ. May he build you up in the most holy faith—and he will, I believe, give many present “an inheritance incorruptible, & that fadeth not away.” His last sentence was not finished till he reached the meeting house door; & he left the meeting house in such a state as I never before was witness to—generally in tears. Indeed, I may say, as one favoured to be present; that to the best of my recollection, I never was present at [another] such scene. It seemed nearly impossible to separate the instrument from the feelings his ministry was calculated to produce—his powers being equally convincing to the judgment & affecting to the heart. The expression of his countenance, his impressive manner, with the eminent religious qualifications with which he was gifted—his natural & acquired endowments as a man, all united to raise, in the hour of separation, strong regrets accompanied with emotions of thankfulness that we had been favoured with such a visit. & should I never be permitted to see him again on earth. O, may I be qualified though now at such a distance, to meet him when he has finished his day’s work, remembering that though “souls make

acquaintance here below, it is above that their union is perfected." Under impression such a meeting is likely to produce, I went home to dinner, where I found a letter from my brother T. to answer, to receive S. Darby & S. Appleby to tea, who brought Rachel Fowler & H. Stevenson, Mary Lloyd & E. Foster came to a second tea, Sam^l Dyer with them; & after our other friends were gone, we assisted M.L. in packing up a basket for W^m Savery to take on board ship, with whom they were going down the river the next day & I apprehend they sailed directly.

8th mo 1st I called the same morning on H. Rutter, with whom Esther was going to return to Moorend, whose affection for this child was truly grateful to me, which, she said she had merited by her behaviour. She told me that on her observing to her husband her having an innocent mind, he said he did not feel it as mere innocence, for there was a sweetness to be felt that made it pleasant to be with her. This was truly comfortable to me to hear. This morning I called on S. Harford at G. Bush's. The next, I received the affecting, yet welcome tidings that poor Sukey Bush was released at about 10 o' clock the evening before. The last words she uttered were "I am going, & all is well." What more can one wish? The moment I took her in my arms on her entrance into life, though weeping over her for joy, was not equally comfortable to my feelings as her release from so much suffering. It is indeed a subject of great satisfaction that He, who in early youth graciously called, has mercifully preserved her to the end, & supported her through a lingering painful disorder. She had passed her 33rd year some months.

5th day evening we received the long expected account of the decease of Lovall Appleby at Falmouth. In consequence it was determined we should set out for that place in a few days, the prospect of which sunk my spirits. Very reluctant I was to leave a spot where I had passed through so many affecting scenes, to be separated from my brother so soon after his return & most of all to leave his dear Esther.

In the morning I attended the interment of S. Bush, It was a solemn opportunity at which T. Rutter was solemnly engaged. As I stood by her grave side, the remembrance of her infancy & childhood rose before me & tenderly affected my mind. 1st day poorly & wholly at home. After dinner I had a little satisfactory interview with my brother T. The next morning I went to the Blind School, & visited my friend E. Johnson, whose blessing at parting I found truly comfortable. From her I took leave of my still suffering friend F. Pinnock. After dinner I set out again to pay a farewell visit to the poor gardener in the infirmary. This visit appeared truly welcome to the poor sick man, who was very ill. For some time his grateful heart was too full for utterance. At parting we shook hands, & I expressed a wish I felt, that if we should never meet again in this world, we might meet in a better. On my getting home poorly & greatly fatigued, I found poor Debby Clark in tears at

parting with her father & brother. The former had brought her to Bristol on 6th day & she was to go next morning to Mary Stanton's school. I could not help feeling for her, though I did not doubt her trouble would soon wear away.

14th How I felt at leaving my poor motherless child, I shall not attempt to describe, or the tears it cost me. Thankful I was to feel at last on setting out [for Falmouth] about 3 o' clock, that I was a little better qualified to commit her to the care of her Heavenly as well as of her earthly father. Under these feelings (after drinking tea at Langford) I am writing this at Cross where we sleep. We had appointed to meet my brother Fox & Mary to dinner at Exeter in our way, & George C. was to follow on to Falmouth. At Taunton, next day, we met W^m Clark who had been with his son to Sidcot.¹¹⁹ The first thing we heard at Wellington was that W^m Were & his cousin Betsy Were were the day before married at Church. B.W. immediately left her good mother's house, whom I called upon & exceedingly pitied. We left our sister Were very poorly. We dined at the London Inn, Exeter, with my brother F., Mary J. Prideaux, & J. Bergvin, who were going to Plymouth for the vacation. We had a very fatiguing journey the rest of the way, from hills & other causes—lay the first night at Oakhampton, the next at Bodmin. At Falmouth we found Lovall Fox at the late Lovall Appleby's ready to receive us. My husband had felt much of his complaint this evening from walking up a hill. We found two American friends in town, Hannah Barnard¹²⁰ & Elizth Coggeshall, which prevented my indulging in bed the next day, it being 1st day. We drank tea at G. C. Fox's on the hill, which appeared as delightful as ever, & the master of it very agreeable. C.F. & our sister E. Fox were gone with the strangers to a meeting at Penvyn.

29th In the even^g arrived Chas: & John Fox who were wholly with us by day, so that our family (G. Champion having arrived) was six in number. On calling at a stationers one day, in my way to meeting, I found the mistress of it to be very sensible & uncommonly interesting, one of 4 sisters, daughters of a lawyer of eminence, who had left them in reduced circumstances. Two were removed by death, It was an account of what she felt at the time she lost one of them, that so sympathetically engaged my attention. I afterwards many times called on my new friend, Martha Russel, whom I considered a valuable acquaintance; & upon mentioning the discovery I had made of her merit, I found it was not new to Catharine Fox who spoke highly of her.

Ninth Mo: 13th Went to the hill to spend one week, where my husband joined me in the evening, Hetty C. & Lovall remaining in town till the goods were sold. Spending a week with my friends, at their delightful abode, I had anticipated as a time of enjoying the company of my friends there, which included my valued sister E. Fox; but so many were added the next day; that I had to lament being one of the number of visitors. Poor Lydia Prideaux was

exceedingly affected at first meeting her uncle & me. Since our last interview she had sustained an irreparable loss. We went to Mo. Meeting together, at which on one of the queries being read, H. Barnard expressed sentiments full of charity & forbearance. Jos: Nicholson was also at Falmouth who, with the other friends, had public meetings in & about Falmouth.

24th Second day; we left Falmouth after dinner & lodged at Truro where we saw G.C. who had been there some time. He & Hetty attended a publick meeting there held by H.B. her companion & J. Nicholson. From Truro we went to Liskeard & thence to Tor Point, where, notwithstanding my former fears of the water, I felt comfortable to be seated in a boat in very fine weather; so much had I suffered by my fears & feelings by land. We crossed safely to Dock & were conveyed to Plymouth by a pair of the most dismal horses, I think, I ever met with. The sufferings of these noble animals is a serious subject of sorrow to my mind. We were kindly received by my brother Fox & family, at whose house we spent one week, & visited many of our friends. Before we set out, arrived L.P., J. & P. Dearman from their Cornish journey. On 4th day the 10th of Tenth Mo: we commenced our journey, lay at Chudleigh & got to Wellington next day; the following lodged at B. water & on 7th day evening, I was favoured to reach my beloved home in safety after having travelled more than 350 miles through some real & many fancied perils.

The morning after we got home, I was prevented from enjoying our quiet habitation as I had intended, by hearing that Thos: Pole & E. Bevington were in Bristol, & being informed that the latter had requested to see me in B. Square, as she was going the next morning. I accordingly went in the afternoon. At the morning meeting T.P. was excellent. 3rd day Arrived to tea J. & P. Dearman & a little boy. They left us at noon on 6th day; on which day I paid M. Dudley a visit at George Fisher's, where she was confined by indisposition.

21st Visited poor F. Pinnock, who was distressingly ill. J. Duck had called in Dr. Fox. She recovered by very slow degrees.

22nd Edw^d Fox & wife of Wadebridge came to my brother Tuckett's. They visited us, & we them, & we went with them to Clifton & the Wells. The poor gardener died on 6th day.

11th mo 1st Paid my friend E. Johnson a visit. She received me kindly, & seemed filled with the love of God, & the hopes of a glorious immortality. She gave me much excellent advice. She said she believed her earthly tabernacle was taken down by slow degrees &c—I afterwards called on Patty Young & her child, who was under in{n}oculation. In the afternoon Hetty & myself drank tea with our friend Bengough. First day T.R. stood a

long time & was very excellent; & on 5th day I called to see H. Rutter, who was come to town for the winter. Sixth day my cousin Dimsdale & Ann to dinner. They had spent a month at Bath, & intended in a few days going to Hertford for the winter—a circumstance I regretted, having so much enjoyment in her society. The next 2 days busy in trying to find a mistress for the Blind School. Before M. Dimsdale left Bristol, she brought Maria Jones to introduce her to my acquaintance. Her person indicated that in her youth she had been a fine girl. She appeared now to be advancing to 50. Her sentiments were benevolent, & her language fluent in its cause.

On 5th day I paid E. Johnson another visit of much the same desirable nature as the last; only she appeared more feeble in body though not in mind.

16th 6th day, a frost began & continued, which confined me for some time. The change was sudden from mild weather so that I had felt comfortable,—enjoying settlement—thankful that my nearest friend was in good health & spirits. This with an opportunity of a daily oversight over my dear Esther, & frequent converse with my brother T. rendered my days more peaceful than moving about the world could effect. 5th day arrived at J. Waring's, Hannah Barnard & Elizth Coggeshall. H.B. preached as did E.C. the next [firstday] morn at meeting & prayed. In the evening both preached. 2nd day wholly occupied in copying the letters of my long lost friend Sukey Rogers. In the evening I had a letter from Plymouth with an affecting account of the illness of Margth Clark. I attended our Mo. Mg. this week, where was M. Dudley whom I met before the meeting for worship broke up; which gave me an opportunity of a little of her company. At the meeting H. Barnard gave us some acc^t of their method of relieving their poor in America—never suffering the names of the person to appear except to the Treasurer, who was once a year accountable to a committee chosen for that sole purpose. I dined with W^m Pink & E. Berry at my brother's—they drank tea with us.

29th 5th day Esther's birth-day, she spent in Corn Street with the Pince's—her father with us. The next day Hetty C. & myself took a ride to Stoke to see cousin Harford & Sally. We staid to dine, finding both mother & daughter very poorly,—the former, however much better than she had been. But Sally appeared to be in a decline, on which acc^t I felt much for my poor cousin Harford, as this was a very favourite child & had been her constant companion from her birth. Leaving them in this desolate state gave me real concern, & afterwards, in a visit to my sick friend F. Pinnock, I could not help contrasting her comforts & the disposition with which she enjoyed them to my poor cousin's.

Twelfth Mo. 1st Went in the morning with my brother, to see H. Barnard & E. C. who soon after began to pay family visits with R. Hipsley. I called at my old friend T. Rutter's, whom I found in a very suffering state. I could not help looking back to the time when we were young together; having of late

been so accustomed to trace back past seasons from reading & copying the letters of my sister & S. Rogers, about which I was engaged after dinner; & I thought I found both profit & pleasure in the employment.

First day morning. H. Barnard prayed & E. Bevington preached. Visited H. Rogers. About this time died the poor postman, whose widow I visited with Hetty C. We found her in great grief from having lost an affectionate husband, with whom she had lived in love many years; yet she seemed sensible of the best support, & thankful in believing he had died as he had lived in the faith of Christ Jesus, who, she said, had been near him in his dying moments. He left his wife destitute of any means of subsistence, yet firm in the belief that he who has promised to be a husband to the widows would care for her. In the afternoon of the nextday we received the family visit from H. Barnard & E.C., John Hipsley with them. 2nd day drank tea at T. Rutter's in true social enjoyment. He was better & in comfortable spirits. Esther was with me, who always met a cordial welcome there. My brother T. was this week at the Q. Meeting. George Withy who was lately returned from Wales, spent an evening with us.

9th First day evening on my returning home from meeting in a chair, I was stopped by J.T. & told that my cousin Harford at Stoke, was this morning found dead in her bed. Shocked at this acc^t, which I was unwilling to believe, I immediately sent to a friend who I had been informed, was sent for on the occasion. The return of the messenger confirmed it. The day before she had been much attacked in her breath, but thought herself relieved by an emetic. At 10 o' clock she went to bed & at about 1/2 past 12 dismissed a servant who had staid by her, saying she found herself better & expected to go to sleep. All that we know further is that her poor sick daughter (who lay in a dressing room inside her mother's chamber) ran in an agony to her brother Edward, who on going to his mother's bedside found her a corpse. Poor Sally was removed the next day to her brother Samuel's at Clifton. I was much occupied by this new & alarming call to diligence, seeing "we know not what a day may bring forth," & sleep forsook me most of the night. 3rd day morn^g with Hetty C. I visited S.H. at Clifton. She appeared very ill—said little, but dropped some tears in silence on the mournful subject of her loss. My brother Tuckett was confined with a violent cold in his head & eyes, through returning from the Q. Meeting on horse-back in severe weather.

I went with E. Bevington after she had dined with us to Berkeley Square, where I saw her daughter Rachel, who was recovering from a fit of illness & whom I thought agreeable.

25th Once more arrived. Debby Clark dined with us, & my brother T. for the first time since his illness came to tea. I had this day comfort in being enabled, in some small degree, to feed the hungry; & I may, I hope, truly say

that while my heart was melted by the blessing of the widow, I felt, & desire to feel, I could bestow nothing that was my own in any sense. I have often thought, when I have received the blessing of some "that were ready to perish" how amiable must be those dispositions which occasion so much gratitude in a fellow creature in want, perhaps, of the necessities of life, whilst so many possess the means of obtaining its luxuries. Surely it is a great & unmerited favour to those that are qualified to give alms, that there are so many gracious promises annexed to this duty, if the motive in the giver be what is right. & in that case we may listen to what our blessed Lord says, "In as much as ye do it to these my brethren, ye do it unto me," Yet as I write, I am fully sensible I do less this way than I ought; & that therefore in this as well as in other respects I am "an unprofitable servant."

5th day poor John Tompson called—an aged servant who had been hired by my aunt Lloyd as a coachman 30 years ago. The poor old man as he entered the parlour found his tears deprive him of the power of speech. I could not forbear weeping with him. The tears of sympathy are accompanied with a sweet sensation "I have delighted" (said this old & faithful servant) "I have delighted in Stoke for many years." Here he stopped & it seemed it if the thoughts of his being obliged to leave it, prevented further utterance. He afterwards lamented the danger there was of dear Sally Harford's illness terminating in a way that was expected. This visit left me in a state unfit for anything but great quietude.

31st I am now in the evening of the day, as well as at the eve of a new year; sitting by a comfortable fire with my husband, enjoying our "dear domestic home." Many there are who object to this method of commemorating events—of observing times & seasons; but I think I have found it as profitable as pleasing

"Most sweet to me
These chronicles of life, oft round them turned
Dear recollections of the past."

And though the retrospect must often be necessarily affecting, yet still it is satisfactory to me to continue my Journal thus far. Possibly this may be my last, for truly have I found in 1798 of a full proof of the uncertainty of life! Little indeed, did I imagine, at the commencement of it, that a beloved sister's name would in it be added to the list of those friends "who are removed from works to rewards." Many that were the prime actors in the last years scenes, are now numbered with the dead. & O that I may be enabled to follow those who are gone before me as they followed Christ, so that, at the last awful moment, I may feel the sting of death taken away.

1799

1st mo 1st Began the new year by going to meeting, where E. Bevington preached appropriately on these words "Live as you would wish to die." Our yearly day of meeting was held at our house. We met as usual & spent a comfortable day, though some affecting recollections intruded; but I consolingly remember that it was the hand Divine that gave & had now withdrawn.

1st day Debby Clark came & spent a week with her brother. It was pleasant to see these children meet after 5 months separation.

7th George Champion left us in order to be 3 months with a gentleman in London, who had given hopes of assisting him in settling in business. As my eyes filled with tears of affectionate solicitude, my heart breathed an ardent petition for his preservation. His father 37 years ago, quitted London & came to Bristol. Truly may it be said that rotation, mutation, & change, are written on human affairs. I sat sometime with S. Beaufoy whom I found very low & poorly. I felt much sympathy for her, & intended calling again after drinking tea with Patty Young in Jamaica Street; but being rather late I determined to defer it, little thinking that by this delay I should lose my only opportunity, for the same evening she was suddenly removed. She was lying on a sofa about 9 o' clock in the evening, & complaining of sickness in her stomach, her maid advised her to try if walking about the room would not relieve it. She consented to do so desiring her shoes might be handed her, which she put on, & immediately falling back expired, with only one sigh. A nice passage from time to eternity, after having gone through such complicated sufferings; under all which I believe she had laboured, according to the ability received, to attain right dispositions & patient resignation, & that therefore there is good ground of hope that she is entered into rest & peace. She left two daughters, one the wife of Norman Southall, the other being with her, but at the moment her mother expired was absent, having gone down stairs to speak to a friend. Jos: Harford lay very ill at this time with a paralytic disorder. 6th day Spent an hour with H. Rogers who appeared to me, & I believe to herself, to be gradually declining. 1st day At the even^g meeting M. Dudley was excellent & stood a long time.

15th 3rd day Dined in Union St. with E. Bevington & took her to the stage. Returned to Jos: (S) Fry's where I spent an instructive & pleasant hour with the rest of the company, which consisted of M. Dudley & daughters, D. & J. Holbro, H. Portsmouth & S. Fry, besides the master & mistress of the house. I returned home to tea. The next morning Hetty C. & myself went to Clifton to take leave of S. Harford on her going into Devon to try the effect of a change of air. We found her better than we expected & in tolerable spirits. S. Beaufoy was soon to follow her, for whom I felt an ardent wish & a more than wish, that she might be preserved from entering farther into the spirit of

the world. I was led to remember how great was the kindness extended to me by a compassionate Saviour in the season of youth. O for a deeper sense of gratitude to that awakening merciful Power who then raised a prayer in my heart from a feeling sense of want—from a conviction of my many infirmities, & of my need of a Redeemer. This evening a letter from M. Dimsdale proved a cordial to my spirits.

18th Visited an aged couple in Charles Street. The wife was ill & afflicted,—and I felt truly concerned for her—she was worthy.

22nd My husband so poorly that J. Duck was sent for. By a little alteration of diet & some medicine, the disagreeable symptoms gave way.

23rd Received Mary Dudley, a son, & two daughters to dinner, with whom we spent an agreeable day. Towards the end of the visit my brother came in & mentioned the sudden removal of a friend of the name of Penrose, which much affected M. Dudley. After sitting some time in silence she remarked how much these awful events should serve as calls to survivors, repeating;—

“Our hearts are fastened to this world,
By strong & tender ties;
And every sorrow acts a string
And urges us to rise.” Young.

She afterwards affectionately addressed Hetty C. encouraging her to an early dedication of heart. She then addressed me as a beloved sister known in early life—enumerating trials passed through, & blessings received &c. She said she also remembered one (my sister) previously removed, whose memory had been as a sweet odour to her spirit since she had been under our roof. She dropped some remarks on our being fast approaching towards the end of our race, & feeling often in that state where the grasshopper is a burden. She concluded beautifully to all. They left us before tea.

27th First day Joseph Nicholson preached as did J. & S. Abbott.

29th At the Monthly Meeting we had a visit from J.N. & T. Rutter. Both were engaged to the youth. The latter mentioned an early visitation he had received at 17 years of age. At this meeting Marg^t Waring was chosen clerk, & S. Allen assistant clerk. Emma [Berry] went home with me to dinner, after which we joined a company at my brother T.'s, which consisted of J. Nicholson, T. Rutter, M. Dudley &c. but they did not stay tea. This even^g my husband was poorly. Francis Fox lodged at my brothers on his way to fetch a wife, S. Birbeck. T. Wadge was with him.

31st A snow began & continued with frost a considerable time, confining me mostly to the Square.

2nd mo 2nd 7th day The ninth anniversary of our marriage. On each return I have often felt needless fears of its being the last, & have not seldom wished that I was able to dwell more on the present moment.

1st day We had J. Nicholson & M. Dudley at meeting. Sally Beaufoy was there, went home with us & spent the day.

4th day, a satisfactory interview with the poor widow of the postman, A. Harwood; as also was one paid two days before to the widow of the old gardener, More. How very comfortable to me is an intercourse with these outwardly poor widows—how pleasant to that life which will survive all the paltry distinctions of this world. This week there was a parish collection for the poor, & almost immediately the thaw came.

11th 2nd day Attended the auction at Stoke, where I purchased a bed, the inside of which was marked by my aunt & cousin, being desirous it might not get into the hands of strangers. S. Harford being absent was ignorant of this transaction. I gave a parting look over an abode I had long inhabited in youth, & often visited at a riper age.

19th From market called at the good old widow Stevenson's where Hannah read me two letters from her sister respecting an intended visit to Ireland. O Ireland, Ireland! what a state art thou in to be visited by a tender, feeble woman. On my return home Richard Chester, his wife, & R. Newbury called—also S. Beaufoy, who was going to join poor S. Harford, to whom both Hetty & myself wrote a few lines.

22nd 6th day Frank Fox brought his bride to my brother's attended by a female, cousin, a brother, & T. Wadge. I spent the evening with them & thought the bride collectedly cheerful. Part of the company slept at our house, & the next morning went on their journey home.

First day at Sarah Bonner's funeral after dinner.

On Fifth day called on A. Harwood, who appeared declining, & on F. Pinnock whom I often visited. Rachel Bevington & S. Fry dined & drank tea with us.

3rd month 2nd 7th day after dinner, while my husband & brother were busy in preparing Soup Ticketts for the poor, arrived E. Fox of Perrin, informing us that her father & mother were at an Inn; from whence she brought them to tea. They supped & lodged at my brother's Betsy with us.

2nd day Drank tea with M. Dimsdale at her aunt Whithead's, whose visitors she & her daughter at present were.

4th day Paid G. & L. Withy a visit on the death of their infant son.

15th The Committee for the Blind School met at our house.

16th In a comfortable interview with M. Dimsdale, I learnt that the ancient, useful M. Beck was almost gone. In the evening she quietly departed; & thus ended her earthly labours at about 80 years old. The following character of her appeared in the papers:—"She was possessed of uncommon active powers both of body & mind, which she employed in the service of her fellow creatures. Her disposition was truly benevolent & humane, & that excellent Institution, the Dispensary, is much indebted to her exertions for its establishment & respectability. By her death the poor have lost a kind benefactress, & her acquaintance a kind & valuable friend."

18th second day Drank tea with my brother at Fred. Stevenson's. It was a very agreeable visit. H. Stevenson was just returned from S. Thirnbeck who appeared very near her end, & was favoured with a resigned mind—even to the giving up an affectionate husband & two little prattling girls who, in infantile simplicity, were amusing themselves unconscious of their approaching loss of a tender mother.

When we were about to move, we were requested to sit down, when Sally Stevenson almost immediately began, in sweetly encouraging language, concluding with the following message to my husband,—“Remember me affectionately to thy dear husband, & tell him I wish him well on his way towards the heavenly Jerusalem—to that city none of whose inhabitants can say ‘I am sick’.” Soon after she had ceased speaking her sister H. began, & went on some time on that peace “which the world knows not of & can neither give nor take away.” But that which most affected my mind was a second Testimony from her sister, in which she affectingly alluded to her expected engagement, desiring our prayers “at those seasons when we were favoured with access to the Fountain of Strength.” O had she known me, she could not have asked for my prayers for such a one as herself. She added “that whatever bitter cups were handed to us, they were not so bitter as that which our blessed Saviour drank for us.” Much of what she said indicated that her life was given up to the arduous undertaking in view—a sacrifice truly sincere and, whether accepted or spared, all must be well. We soon took leave of our valuable friend, whose countenance indicated the love & light that dwelt within. As I contemplated this little family of love, there appeared a correspondent cleanness of the outward & the inward garb—indeed, in every thing around them. In my way home I called on the poor widow Wall.

21st The widow Harwood wished to see me & my visit to her afforded me encouragement. O how sweet is communion with the poor of this world if they are rich in faith! This visit, with something similar, gave a pleasant savour to the day, which was agreeably concluded by drinking tea with my friend Bengough & her interesting companion.

29th 6th day I attended (not an invited guest) the remains of Sarah Thirnbeck. Mary Beck was not interred till the 28th. At this time Hetty C. attended some lectures with her uncle Tuckett.

4th mo 4th 5th day In a morning call, my brother Tuckett read to Hetty C. & myself a printed account of the experience of our late valuable friend Elizth Johnson. After dinner, having heard Ann Hunt was dangerously ill, I had a great inclination to see her, & took Hetty C. & S. Eady with me. We found her better though very weak. She seemed full of her usual sweetness, & said she did not think she was yet going, & was willing for the sake of her children to stay a little longer; & they appeared very desirous of keeping her; we returned home after drinking tea below with her daughters. Soon after this I paid repeated visits to the poor widow Harwood, who seemed in a very desirable state. It pleased the great Disposer of event (contrary to our expectation) to raise her from her sick bed by slow degrees, though she never recovered a good state of health, but continued under great suffering. I often visited her, & sometimes when not very well able, but was generally well rewarded for it. About this time died—Bolfe, doctor to the Bristol Dispensary.

1st day after meeting John Pince, who was just returned from a visit to his brother at Kingsbridge, called & related some particulars respecting a person who wished him to enter into business at Newton Bushell, his nativeplace.

17th 4th day Hetty C. & myself went to Clifton to see S. Harford who was returned from Devon much worse. We found her very ill, though sitting up & not in her bedroom. I felt very interested about her, wishing she was where I could see her oftener. Just as we were left alone, we were interrupted by the accidental entrance of a child. Upon the whole, I thought the visit we paid her satisfactory.^{ddd}

21st First day We had Sarah Harrison at meeting who preached excellently & prayed; before which Mary Capper was engaged on the subject of faith. There was something very sound & correct in her ministry. I have compared it to a building where every stone is set well in its right place. M. Beesley was also an acceptable minister.

The next morning I called with Esther to see S. Harrison, & on 3rd day after having visited the widow H, about her worldly affairs; seeing that there was no prospect of a better inheritance, I went to see my friend Bengough—
anxious lest Esther should be hurt by walking with her father to Moorend.

26th Called on E. Berry & F. Pinnock who were going to try what the Bath waters would do for the latter.

^{ddd} She survived only one week, & was not sensible of her danger till a few hours before the close; yet she was calm, resigned, & sensible. {SCF}

28th First day at the Morning Meeting were Mary Barnes & Agatha Lloyd from Birmingham. With the character of the former I had long been acquainted, & I invited them home to dine. After dinner we went with them to the Inn where they had slept the preceeding night, where we met the interesting agreeable Sampson Lloyd Jun^r. I drank tea with them at H. Rogers's who was still in a declining state & whom I often saw. The next day I accompanied them to Clifton & Blaize Castle, & after dining with them at M. Dimsdale's came home to tea.

30th 3rd day at Monthly Meeting where M. Beesley & M. Capper laid their concern to visit families with so much weight & modesty that I believe it gained them what they expressed a desire for—the sympathy of their friends.

5th month 5th day A meeting held instead of 3rd day on account of a wedding, after which Esther & I paid S. Cookworthy a visit.

3rd Went to Redclift Yard to attend the funeral of S. Harford, where the silence seemed to me to be very solemn. It was an affecting consideration that this amiable young woman had been so situated that, her good dispositions & affectionate sympathizing mind had never been able to exert their full powers; though in tenderness & kindness to the poor she was truly exemplary. The tears of some whom she had fed & clothed, & even soothed, bore abundant testimony of their gratitude, as they stood mournful spectator at her grave, into which, literally, the tears of some fell. The nearness I felt to her brothers & Sam. Lloyd, & the strength of my desire that this affecting solemn season might deeply impress their minds, was very great. Thos: Rutter was very suitably engaged on the occasion. After urging the necessity of our feeling the need of a Redeemer, he appealed to the experience of his hearers whether they “had not felt the insufficiency of every earthly enjoyment to confer happiness.” The subject was with me the whole day—perhaps the more so because it was on that day twelvemonth she had brought me to the Turnpike after my having spent the day with S. Bush at Stoke, & that I called on my sister on my way home. O what a change has the interval produced! for I only am left to tell it. First day Went to Temple Street with Esther. Martha Routh¹²¹ was at meeting & preached. On 3rd day she was much enlarged. She encouraged the weak, particularly those who were called to the work of the ministry, who, she said, she apprehended stood in fear of their elder brethren. She said much to a state that had been wounded in the house of their “friends.” She stood a long time. After she sat down, Ann Grace prayed. M.R. afterwards stood up, saying she thought it her place to bear testimony to the foregoing supplication being of God, though she knew not the individual who was engaged. Mary Dudley concluded the meeting with a prayer.

9th 5th day In the stage to Bath with Esther & Fanny to see E. Berry & F. Pinnock. We found the latter better though still very poorly. Though we got

late to Bath we went to meeting on hearing M. Routh was there, whom we found preaching. After dinner she & M. Dudley paid our sick friend & her sister a visit, & were both encouragingly engaged to her. Esther & I lay at the widow Peacock's in the grove, but returned to our friends to breakfast. Afterwards I called on H. & M. Davies, Sampson Lloyd Jun. & wife, Mary Barns & Agatha Lloyd, L. Foster & the Moores. In the afternoon, with my dear Esther, I returned home—both well pleased with our excursion, though I was exceedingly fatigued but always glad to get home to my good husband from whom I have ever received a kind welcome, though he was so indulgent as to give a ready assent to my sometimes leaving him with my steady niece Hetty C.

1st day morning we had again M. Routh who was much favoured. 3rd day We had a stranger in the gallery who proved to be a capital Minister—his name Jepson—a clear reasoner excellent in doctrine.

All the remainder of the week confined with indisposition. Hetty who knew it not, was at Stoke. On 5th day my brother asked me if I had any objection to his daughter's going into Devonshire, in about a week, with J. & M. Pince, who had determined to embrace the proposal made them. My brother proposed to follow Esther as soon as an expected vessel arrives.

19th On this day twelvemonth I was sitting by the bedside of a dying sister. I trace the awful moments as they pass, & derive comfort from the reflection that the friend of my soul is at rest—safely centred beyond the reach of conflicts, in never ending bliss.

24th We received the family visit from M. Beesley & M. Capper. It was very acceptable but nothing particular.

29th Went to Corn Street to take leave of John & M. Pince & family, which consisted of a son & daughter the youngest a fine healthy girl about 2½ years old. Little John had long been considered in a decline, & many times the last few months he had been thought near his happy home; but they had lately taken him to country lodgings from which he appeared to have received benefit. He was a sweet boy, & had always a look that indicated a great fitness for heaven than earth.

30th They left Bristol. My best wishes followed them, accompanied with regret at their leaving us. Esther set out with them. I saw her walk down the square from my chamber window (after an almost sleepless night) attended by Hetty C., H. Young, & S. Eady to the coach. I condemned myself for giving way to anxiety, for I was not comfortable the whole day, much of which I spent with my brother who was confined with a cold. My husband & self drank tea with him, as we did regularly once a week—oftener if he was confined; otherwise he mostly visited us.

31st Was interred from the meeting, that worthy man John James whose mouth had occasionally been opened [in gospel ministry] since his 80th year. M. Capper opened the meeting. Mary B. followed, saying as she passed the street in solemn procession, this language had sweetly run through her mind "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord." M. Dudley [spoke] then on the brevity & vanity of human life.

6th mo 2nd 1st day Catharine Richards an agreeable young woman from Cornwall, who was at James Kingston's, drank tea with us, & his pretty little blue eyed boy. The next day M. Beesley & M. Capper dined with us & were very agreeable. 5th day The children of the Parish Schools walked & I went with my husband to see them assembled in Portland Square. After we had dined, we took Debby Clark to see some of them & the Blind Children at dinner. There we met & conversed with Raikes¹²² of Gloucester, who had been so active in promoting schools. There were many others, & amongst them several pretty genteel looking girls helping the children. I felt my heart warmed, not only with an opportunity of assisting these little ones, but with the pleasing view it afforded of so many under different appearances, & of different religious professions, united on this benevolent occasion. It seemed to create general concern that Shurmer Bath looked so ill as to almost exclude a hope of his being present at another anniversary. 7th day called on E. Berry & F. Pinnock on their return from Bath—the latter amazingly improved. Springer's wife called on me—a nice visit, her conduct as well as words bearing evidence that she possessed what she professed. 2nd day E. Berry met me to tea in Berkeley Square. The next day dined with us A. Goldney, Olivia Lloyd & her brother Robert.

1st day afternoon My mind much engaged in copying a letter I had received from my sister on the removal of my sister Champion. On coming down to M. Lloyd I would have read it to her, but her spirits would not bear it. I pitied her but the enjoyment I derive from such things must be felt to be understood. Poor Shurmer [Bath] called just as we were going to meeting with whom I would have staid, but he would not permit it. I felt my mind full of good wishes to him in every sense. Next day copied more of my beloved sister's letters. What a privilege measurably to enjoy, over again, communication with a deceased valued friend! My cousin Dimsdale, comfortably to me, drank tea with us in the garden; after which my brother received a letter from his sister. Our dear Esther, she said, was well & happy, but not with M. Pince at Newton as I expected. I took M.D. to Patty Young, now living in Lewins Mead, where I heard that her son had met with an accident.

25th 3rd day At the funeral of H. Gandy, who was removed after a few days illness. His wife attended the burial, though feeble both in body & intellect. As I sat in the parlour of a house long known, I remembered my first

introduction to them, & had no doubt of the deceased being added to the number of those I wished to meet hereafter. As we followed the coffin, I felt glad he had re-joined our Society, by which act his friends had this opportunity of showing publicly their respect to his memory. T. Rutter was excellently engaged at the meeting, but nothing was said at the grave—after which we held our usual Monthly Meeting. I dined at my brother's with M. Beale who told me of a shocking accident she had met with in her husband's shop. We received to tea in the garden F. Pinnock & her brother W. Berry.

7th month. In the first week my brother left us, & though I was sorry to part with him, it was truly satisfactory to me that he should go to his daughter, who, I afterwards learned from a letter, received him at Bigbury joyfully. On the day he set out I drank tea with an old friend A. Day, whose countenance expressed a mind full of natural & religious sweetness, & whose life & conversation corresponded. She had a large family grown up, & at this time 4 worthy daughters lived with her. Some were married. She had only one son who was a religious clergyman & lived in the country; where he was beloved by his parishioners to whose temporal as well as spiritual wants he administered according to his ability. I left my worthy friend with a hope that an acquaintance, begun when I was only 13 years old, & thus now renewed, might be continued; though her being so deaf as only to hear with a trumpet was a pall to the enjoyment of her society.

2nd day George Champion took an affectionate leave of us, pleased with his prospects [that of a sugar refiner] & now appeared solidly desirous of setting out in life with industry & respectability. The next afternoon G. & L. Withy drank tea & spent the evening with us.

4th day. We took tea at J. Bonville's with Mary Were, who, having recently lost her little boy seemed very low.

20th 7th day My brother came home.

3rd day I spent at Moorend & was comfortable with my valued friends there, who seemed kindly glad to see me, though the master of the house [T. Rutter] was so much afflicted with bodily pains, that I thought little enjoyment could fall to his lot, independent of the Divine supports with which, I have no doubt he is favoured.

30th 3rd day At Monthly Meeting, where M.B. & M. Capper were concerned to go to the other meeting. Both were affectionately engaged to us after their return.

31st My brother set out again for Devon & Cornwall's, M. Beale went with him. Hetty C. went to Stoke where she often made her aunt Mary a visit of a few days.

8th mo 1st (?) At an appointed Meeting, by M. Dudley & our other two friends, for the young people. M.D. stood a long time, her language beautiful & doctrine sound. The others preached, as usual, truly acceptably. K. Fuge & his daughter, a fine girl of 14 who came from Plymouth with E. Cookworthy, dined with us. John Williams joined us at tea. Uncommonly hard rain all the evening & the coaches pressed into the service of the soldiers, who were going on a private expedition.

9th Wrote to J. & P. Dearman to congratulate them on the birth of a son. 3rd day. Read in a Magazine of the marriage of Patty Dallaway, which gave me real satisfaction, though accompanied with regret that I should hear of such an event only in this way. I wrote to her in consequence & received a very pretty answer.

5th day George Withy called on his return from Ackworth.

6th day David Sands came to meeting unexpectedly from Bath, where he was for his health. He spoke sweetly & encouragingly to the low & humble. 3rd day H. Rogers dined with us, & the next day we drank tea with her in the country, first going to walk in the old garden at Stoke. My mind & exertions were at this time much engaged in the affairs of F. Pinnock, but nothing could divert my attention from poor Arnee Frank, whose wife^{ccc} had been ill of a fever for two weeks, during which time I generally called daily. On 5th day, about noon she expired! This worthy young couple seemed to be united by a strong tie of affection, & appeared to be true help-mates to each other. She left 3 children—the youngest a girl 14 months old. Their friends seemed universally to mourn her loss, & to feel for the survivor. He was her constant attendant in her illness, & his health appeared affected by it. On the 25th her remains were deposited in the Friar's Yard after having been first taken into meeting, where M. Dudley delivered a most pathetic Testimony; after which M. Capper was sweetly engaged in supplication. I thought she was favoured with near access, & even opened a door for others who felt unable to ask for themselves. At the grave T. Rutter preached well. But though the whole was so solemn, & I hope beneficial to the generality, it appeared to be too much for the poor widower, who was supported between two at the grave & to the coach. In the afternoon I went with Hetty C. to drink tea at Pen Park, tho' too much wearied to enjoy it, but we had before engaged to go. We found M.G.[rignon] still very ill. We met T. Bonville there. The house was good & delightfully situated. I left Hetty at Stoke & returned with Patty Young & her child. I was too poorly to go next day to the Monthly Meeting, where was David Sands¹²³ & where M. Dudley took leave. 4th day To Barton Hill to

^{ccc} Edith Frank (my father's first wife) was the eldest daughter of Robert Lovell of Downend; & Edith Lovell. The latter was drowned in returning from a religious visit in Ireland, as related further back. [J.F.]

Edward Harwood. Met with a kind reception & all I wanted. 6th day with Emma to M. Wrights on the same errand & equally satisfactory. M.W. was confined to his bed with the gout. Also went to Thos: Prichard's, where we staid tea, & thence came home in a coach with a pleasant savour on our minds.

29th 5th day Tea at aunt Berry's, where poor Fidy seemed well enough to be in a state of high enjoyment—a rare instance.

9th month 2nd Spent some time with Caroline T.

8th First day P. H. Gurney brought Richard Reynolds¹²⁴ & wife to tea. The next morning I went where he was with views for my friend which were amply gratified. The same day went to Arnee Frank with a kind message from my brother on his late loss. I found him caressing his infant daughter & young son. He appeared in real grief, though very calm.

10th 3rd David Sands was at meeting & prayed. He afterwards preached affectingly on Jacob's troubles.

14th My brother Tuckett again returned home & spent the evening with us. Esther came as arranged, the next evening, with my sister E. Fox & Loyal. The following 4th day was our Quarterly M^{tg}. Thos: Fox, wife & two daughters lodged at my brothers. David Sands preached remarkably well at the first meeting on sufferings & on doctrine. First day we had John Wigham, a valuable ministering friend from Scotland—a sound good preacher. 3rd day at the Mo. Mtg. a committee of 12 men & 12 women were appointed to consider about the future management of the poor, which with my brother I attended the next afternoon. Returned home after 3 hrs., too much exhausted to sleep well. It was concluded by the appointment of a standing Committee for the express purpose of taking care of the poor.

26th 5th day My brother accompanied J. Wigham in visiting some meetings in the neighbourhood. The next day I was very unwell, but relieved so as to receive F. & S. Cookworthy, who spent a very cheerful evening with us.

Tenth Month. In the first week, drank tea at Dr. Fox's with our guests who dined there visited my poor friend Bengough often—also my poor widow Harwood.

6th First day We had David Sands & J. Wigham at both meetings very acceptably. 2nd day Joined our guests (who dined there) to tea at Matthew Wright's, where we found them surrounded by very agreeable young people.

My brother again accompanied his friend John Wigham to visit meetings in Somersetshire. I accompanied our guests one day to Edward Ash's to tea & some other places.

14th We spent agreeably at M. Dimsdale's. The next day I dined with our guests at James H.'s. David Sands was there, whose conversation was sensible, lively & full of information. Just before we parted he delivered a short Testimony. Between dinner & tea, we saw Colston's School, which appeared to be under excellent regulation. First day in the evening, D.S. preached on Spiritual Worship on Election & Reprobation; also addressed the Deists,¹²⁵ & prophesied a glorious future day.

21st Called upon H. Stevenson, with whom I had, by experience been taught to sympathize. But under every conflict there is help for the afflicted. Blessed be the name of Him who in many [afflictions] enables me to bear this Testimony.

24th Whilst we were drinking tea with Esther, her father came home from one of his excursions with J. Wigham. He had been with him as far as Plymouth. 7th day we drank tea with M. Lloyd in her new half repaired house at Henbury, & brought Hetty home.

First day the 27th was buried from the Meeting, the eldest son of Benjamin Hughes at which both T. Rutter & D. Sands were much favoured. The latter was so pathetic & lively that when he addressed those who, he said, attended their young friend to the grave, they were exceedingly affected. One fainted away, & was carried out of the meeting as dead. Sam^l Dyer was excellent at the grave.

Third day spent a very interesting afternoon at my brothers in a large company where D. Sands related some particulars of his convincement. He said he was then situated 40 miles from any of our society. Visiting the house of a Quaker, when on a journey of business, & being admitted to sit with some Friends, at that time paying family visits, one of them was engaged to a wilderness state, which he took to himself; though he said, they did not tell him how to get out of it. He had afterwards (on another journey) some dealings with a worthy man who was a minister in our society, though he knew not this till he heard him preach at meeting. He then recognized him as a person about whom he had a singular dream. Here he staid about a week & returned, in the interior, a complete Quaker, to the great amazement of his family & friends. Some time after this, a person, I think it was Sam^l Nottingham paid the town where he dwelt a religious visit—a place chiefly inhabited by strict Independants. A young man, an intimate of D.S., who had been zealous in his way, becamed also convinced. These two young men were the instruments of establishing a meeting in the town where they lived, which at this time amounts to a considerable number of Friends.

Eleventh Mo. 8th Sam^l Dyer called. He gave us some account of his late religious engagements in the neighbourhood of Bristol.

10th First day John Helton stepped up into the lower gallery, & delivered some gospel truths, chiefly on these words, "He brought my feet out of a horrible pit, out of the miry clay, & set them on a rock & established my goings, & put a new song in my mouth &c." He was on the same subject next meeting & afterwards.

24th My brother & Esther spent the evening at our house, & the next morning he accompanied our guests to the Gloucester coach, in which they set out for Birmingham.

3rd day Phoebe Speakman at Mo. Mtg., where she preached 3 times. Elizth Ash called on me & told me that on account of her daughter being about to be married to J. Were, she would want the house in which Mary Stanton kept school; & that therefore she intended to take her into her own house as governess to her daughter & granddaughter. This information was given me on Debby Clark's account, who was still at school at Mary Stanton's, & was our frequent visitor. This afternoon I drank tea comfortably at H. Stevenson's. The good old gentlewoman, had taken to her bed, where she appeared to be favoured with serenity & peace.

12th mo 1st Spent an afternoon with the agreeable aged widow Bevan. After supper, Esther brought me a letter from John Pince to her father. It was on the subject of their returning to Bristol, their new plan not answering. It was with pleasure I heard of their coming back. 7th day John Dearman dined & took tea with us, after which J. Reynolds called on him & they proceeded on their journey. 1st day After our return home from evening meeting we were informed of the marriage of J. C. Williams, which furnished enough matter for surprise & concern to pretty much preclude sleep, & the subject much occupied us for the few following days. I had felt more than a common interest in this young man's welfare from my first acquaintance with him, & wished him to have settled earlier in life. How frequently do even well-meaning parents, mistake in discouraging young men from marrying early, & thus throw stumbling blocks in their way, perhaps from a too anxious care for them to obtain riches first; not enough considering that a little with honest industry, & that blessing without which nothing can make us happy will suffice. I have had occasion to remark, in the course of my common walk thro' life, that the most promising young men have suffered much for want of an early connection, & often made great mistakes in consequence of long remaining single.

About this time I had a singular dream respecting Sukey Bush. I thought I was standing by my bedside when I heard Hetty C. coming forward in the dark introducing somebody. As they approached they appeared to bring light with them, & I perceived a young woman so beautiful that I could with difficulty, at first, recognize the features of S. Bush. Yet I was able to do it in a manner to exclude all doubt that it was her very self, in the bloom of youth,

& in a form superior far to the body she once once inhabited. I thought I embraced her affectionately & felt joy at our meeting, though sensible it was a visit, (as mortals term it) from the dead—But how much the reverse for surely “nothing is dead but wretchedness & pain.” “And now” I said “seating myself by her on the very same chair “tell me how is my sister?” “O” she replied “very well” some others I enquired after, whose names I could not recollect; but I remember Hetty C. exclaiming, as she stood before her, “O Sukey, you have no legs-ache now” “Legs-ache!” she replied, in a way as if she shuddered at the idea of her late sufferings, to which I added, “She is got beyond pain.” We then moved farther into the room, & again tenderly embraced each other. “Now tell me Sukey” said I, “shall we have these bodies (hereafter) or celestial ones?” “O” she replied “celestial ones.” It seemed to me that much more passed, but this is all I retained in my memory. My brother T. came home from the Quarterly Meeting at Bridgewater with a sore throat which confined him for a week, & on 6th day I was with him while W^m Pink & T. Speakman were both engaged in Testimony.

15th We spent the afternoon with my brother. He was going, though very unfit to appearance to join J. Wigham at Melksham, to which place he set out the next morning in bitter cold weather. The frost continuing I was confined at home under much suffering; but what a call for thankfulness, to have a home & so much comfort there.

5th day a visit from J. & M. Helton & the widow Dawson.

7th day evening, busy in preparing for new servants, when J. Dearman came to lodge; but he is too agreeable not to find a welcome to his friends. Our next door neighbour Richard Mercha[n]t, a young man, was removed by death. E. Grignion also paid the debt of nature on the 27th, after having been long in a declining state. I had written to my amiable friend Bengough the day before, having no other way of expressing my compassionate sympathy for her under this deprivation. No one could show a more disinterested regard for her than her much valued deceased friend. With elegant manners, & a form calculated to inspire respect, expressive of a well cultivated mind, she had long given up the world, to devote her faculties, her time & attention to the mother of a dear friend whom she had lost; into whose wounds she had been able to pour the balm of consolation. Since I heard of her spirit having become an inhabitant of another, & I hope, better world, the many times we have conversed, on a separate state of souls, has occurred to my memory.

At the eve of 1800 I take up my pen to take a sort of leave of 1700. Many have been my conflicts under the present date, even from my childhood, yet mixed with some very pleasant seasons. Under many dispensations I have been made sensible of the following,—Give a man the world, & give him no

more, his happiness is at an end. The human heart will necessarily feel a futurity through all the abundance that earth can heap upon it. Nothing can possibly give it peace independent of a hereafter; & whatever the world may pretend to, no only can have a solid, uninterrupted joy of heart, who builds on this rock—the hope of Divine mercy—the rock of Ages

“Thou art the source & centre of all minds,
 Their only point of rest, Eternal word!
 From thee departing, they are lost & rove
 At random, without honour hope or peace.
 From thee is all that soothes the life of man
 His high endeavour, & his glad success;
 His strength to suffer & his will to serve.
 But O! Thou bounteous giver of all good,
 Thou art of all thy gifts thyself the crown.
 Give what thou canst, without Thee we are poor,
 And with Thee rich, take what thou wilt away”

Cowper

1800

First month. On account of my brother Tuckett's being from home, travelling with J. Wigham, we delayed keeping our anniversary at his house till his return. Heard of the removal of Sam^l Bevington & wrote to his widow on the occasion. 2nd day paid a visit to my afflicted friend Bengough, who appeared the picture of patient resignation, bowing in submission to the afflictive stroke, though not insensible of her loss or of how much she missed the soothing voice of tenderness & attention. Our little square, she observed, had been in an awful situation. May those of the inhabitants who have been stricken find their suffering sanctified to them.

14th 3rd day After meeting visited my old friend M. Clark, whose sister Stretton lay dead in the house, From thence I went to the widow Moore, who, I thought, appeared to be fast declining; afterwards on H. Rogers who seemed very ill.

21st I took tea again with J. Bengough, where I was much entertained by an account, from the wife of Hostlen, of Dr. Beddoes famous cow-house, where at present was shut up a daughter of Dr. Priestley's in order to be cured of a consumption.¹²⁶ She has now been in this cow House three months with 3 cows. The place was divided so as to form a kind of chamber, raised a little from the other part & separated by a small railing. It was so contrived as to exclude the outer air.

7th day Visited the poor widow H.

26th First day While Shurmer Bath was with us & very ill, my brother returned from visiting meetings with J. Wigham, & we were truly glad to see him well. He staid the evening & seemed much enlivened by his journey, an account of which he gave us—particularly of Lady Saunderson. We drank tea with him next day.

3rd day. We had a visit at the Monthly Meeting from our esteemed friends Thos. Rutter & Sam^l Dyer. The latter chiefly addressed the young people, warning them to avoid the reading of novels & other pernicious books, one of which he particularized, though without naming the title. T. Rutter began to the more advanced but, before he ended, seconded S. Dyer. Dined with them at my brother's.

2nd mo. 1st On this my birthday (58) I felt the continuance of my natural life peculiarly uncertain. I could get little or no sleep that night, & arose feeling feeble & not refreshed. When I came out of meeting J. Waring informed me that my ever valued friend Samuel Emlen was translated to, I cannot doubt, that happy state where “the spirits of just men made perfect” are assembled & enjoy more than a rest from their labours, after a weary pilgrimage. Perhaps few good men had so many bodily infirmities to encounter for such a series of years as our dear departed friend.

2nd This day completes our tenth anniversary of marriage. May it please infinite Wisdom to impress our minds with this truth, that we are fast advancing to this world's confines; & by receding from the nature & spirit of it, may we experience a more perfect redemption.

3rd day, from meeting, (where T.R. reminded me of our youthful days) I went to A. T. Adams, who read us a letter with some particulars of S. Emlen's removal “About a month before his death he requested that if it should please providence to remove him out of time, they would transmit an account of his illness & death to A. Till Adams, as a dear sister who often felt near to him in the fellowship of the Gospel, desiring his dear love might be given, to all she knew he loved” A share of that love, I have, with little intermission, valued for many, many years; even from the season of youth to declining age.

5th We met at my brother's, instead of the first day in the year. The company consisted of John & Caroline Tuckett & their son Philip, our sister C. Fox & Lovall, (who had arrived from Birmingham) my husband & myself. We passed an agreeable day & parted at supper time.

1st day Thos. Clark, who had been some time at our house with his sister Debby, returned to Sidcot school.¹²⁷ She staid with us till her aunt &c returned to Plymouth, which they did early on the 12th instant. I think I felt, even more than usual, the loss of my valued sister's society. I was much tried & confined by the severity of the weather, though I once went out to

visit H. Rogers & F. Pinnock in their sick chambers. My husband was also poorly at this time.

23rd George Champion came & spent 3 days with us. The next morning poor J. C. Williams paid us a visit, & we were very interestingly engaged in conversation during which he demonstrated his candour & his penitance. His restoration to peace, I sincerely wish. His prevalent disposition at this time was truly desirable.

26th In a tea visit at our house from T. & A. Bonville, something occurred between T.B. & Shurmer Bath.

3rd month. Second day morning mostly at home reading W^m Law's "Spirit of Love,"¹²⁸ some part of which I peculiarly enjoyed. The next afternoon I drank tea with H. Stevenson (her mother still in bed) I read her a letter from E. Fox, & conversed with her on a subject I had been requested to do by another friend.

21st I was informed of—Button's death after having been very ill only a few hours. As I compassionately reflected on his nearest friend's deprivation, I felt for myself, as the disorder of which he died was the same as that under which my husband laboured, & at times suffered much pain from.

28th Much engaged this morning in preparing the apartments in the garden for the Pinces, which to our satisfaction, we expected them again to occupy soon.

Third day 4th Mo: 1st David Sands & E. Bevington were at meeting. The former preached, the latter went home with me to dinner. She did not stay, but I drank tea with T. & H. Rutter at my brother's; & with them I passed two very agreeable hours, mostly conversing with my grey headed friend on transactions which occurred near 40 years ago. The next morning in a call on my brother after breakfast, he read to me part of my sister's journal, & talked much about her. How uniting, how cheering are moments like these! After meeting 6th day spent a comfortable half-hour with the widow H. 4th day while we were drinking tea with my brother, the Pinces arrived with their little son & daughter. It was pleasant to me to see them once more in their former abode, though it recalled the idea of my sister & of the time of their having settled there before.

Having a considerable time been more than usually unwell, I determined at length to take the advice I had received to spend two weeks at Bath, having so often received uncommon benefits from its waters. My husband was willing to part with me if E. Berry would go with me, which she kindly consented to do; yet I suffered much at the thoughts of leaving home. H. Rutter called & expressed much uneasiness at her husband's frequent indisposition, as she feared he was in a very declining state. A. Bonville

came in & talked of the wants of the poor, for whom, I believe, we all felt much compassion.

24th Emma & I went to Bath & after dining at the Christopher, we got settled at lodgings in the Grove, which though up two pair of stairs, I thought pleasant. Being much fatigued I enjoyed on easy chair I found at a window which commanded the prospect of distant hill with the tops of pretty trees just budding. One day we met E. Bevington at an Inn in her way to London. The scene of hurry & confusion which prevailed at the coach office where we waited to see her occasioned many reflections. The objects were perpetually shifting like a puppet show. Glad were we to retire to our quiet apartments to tea, where we enjoyed much comfort together. We found unexpectedly John Helton at the meeting on First-day who prayed. He took an early dish of tea with us. After he was gone we went to drink tea in the Crescent with C. Gurney & S. Gillet; but such was my debilitated state that I was obliged to stop on my way & take a chair. The next day Emma took a walk to see her cousin Marshman, & left me to write to Lydia Prideaux. I described to her what I believed to be my state; for from my decrease of strength, I did not think it probable I should recover, though perhaps going by slow degrees. Under these feelings, I was favoured with quietness & peace, & with a degree of resignation to give up my nearest friend & those “for whom my bosom beat with parental solicitude; with a hope & degree of trust that they would have a better a never failing Friend. The next morning the subjects of my care & tenderness arrived in a group in a chaise. The young folks went home in the evening, leaving my husband with us. Some days after, at Hannah More’s, I had the inexpressible satisfaction of hearing of the recent death, I might better say deliverance of Cowper, the celebrated poet; & it added to that satisfaction to recollect the following lines;-

“But me scarce hoping to obtain this rest,
Always from port withheld—always distressed;
Sails ripped—seams opening wide—, & compass lost,
And day by day some current’s threatening force
Sets me more distant from a prosperous course.”

I could not help rejoicing that he was safely anchored in the haven of peace. One day S. Gillet, brought C. Gurney,¹²⁹ whose elegance of manners & good sense I had before admired. We exchanged morning visits once with W^m & Hannah Rathbone. We took a view of the new meeting house.

One day in order to gratify a wish I had to see the celebrated Lucy Galton,¹³⁰ about whom I had heard so much, I called at her lodging with Sally Gillet. She did not fully answer my expectation as to the exterior, but appeared sensible & affable. Her eldest & youngest daughter were with her.

At this time there were riots at Bath on account of the dearness of provisions (corn & potatoes). The latter were sold for more than a guinea a sack; though a few months before they had been at from 5 to 7 shillings & at the beginning of the scarcity of bread, had been the chief dependance of the poor.

5th mo: 8th We returned to James' Square after a very warm day, & I much enjoyed our pleasant chamber & garden; but the weather soon changed to rain & wind.

13th 3rd day D. Sands was at meeting & preached. Betsy Binns called to bid us farewell, as she was going to assist in her brother's family at Waterford. I called on Dr. Ludlow to ask his opinion of a medicine C. Gurney had recommended to my husband. Peggy Richards who was come to Bristol on account of her brother Clement Jacksons intended marriage with E. Fry,^{fff} drank tea with us.

6th day found comfort in hearing my brother read in W^m Law's writings. Similar feelings were afterwards produced, in reading M. Bowdler's¹³¹ Essay on resignation, to those I felt many years ago. The next day very poorly. O what a comfort to look to the end & feel comforted.

19th second day Was better on rising. Added a little to a posthumous letter. Remembered that it was two years this day since my sister died. It was on this very day my brother T. set out for the London Yearly Meeting. Whilst I was with him assisting him, I longed, yet feared, to remind him of the awful anniversary that so much occupied my own thoughts, but I talked to him of the occurrences of the day, 27 years ago tomorrow, when my sister & myself were nearly drowned.

23rd Took Esther to Moorend to spend a few days, who with Rachel [Rutter], accompanied me to the coach at Hambrook. She showed so much reluctance at parting with me that my spirits were quite weighed down by the apprehension of how much I should be missed by this dear girl, who seemed to look on me as a mother & to love me as such. Yet as the tears flowed at the thought of leaving her in a world where she seemed so unequal to pass along uninjured, I regretted the loss of that resignation I had been favoured with at Bath. O that it may please infinite Wisdom to ween me from these too-close attachments & to fix my hopes of happiness on Himself. Got home much tired & heard that Dr. Ludlow was dangerously ill, but then rather better.

^{fff} A daughter of Robert (son of Zephaniah) Fry. She became a widow & was married, a second time, to Philip Sansom of Bristol. {SCF}

25th First day morning, S. Stevenson, on her return from Ireland, preached beautifully; & it was with real satisfaction her friends saw her return in safely, after such a hazardous undertaking.

Third-day Esther went with me to Monthly Meeting (after her return from Moorend) where two couples made their appearance—Joseph Were & Esther Ash, Clement Jackson & Elizth Fry. S. Stevenson preached on the words “Little children love one another.”

Fifth day, after an almost sleepless night, I rode through the lanes to Whitehall. The weather was so delightful & all nature wore so beautiful an aspect, that I enjoyed my ride, though I was so tired that I lost three hours in lying on the bed after dinner when I thought I had slept only one quarter. About this time I took many rides on horseback for healths sake & found myself much better for it.

6th mo: First day, after dinner, as I was meditating alone on the several stages of my journey through the wilderness of this world, it appeared to me I had been much exercised, in one way or other, even from my infant years—early losing a kind mother, & afterwards having to mourn for a fond maternal grandmother (at the age of 12 years) whose uncommonly tender treatment added to my loss in her removal.

Often have I watched the countenance of this beloved parent & grieved when I saw it clouded by sorrow; for she was severely tried many ways. During my abode with her I was separated from a beloved brother, for whom I never ceased occasionally to mourn. But soon, to me, an unexpected deprivation drove me from my pleasant home;-

“My pleasant home where oft when sad & faint
I sought maternal friendship’s sheltering arms;
and I had to mourn

The cherisher of infancy.
Who died & left her child but half matured.”

From this irreparable loss sprung many inconveniences. I learned to wander from the path of wisdom, wherein measurably, in the days of childhood, my feet had been mercifully turned. But after having run on in my career of vanity about 6 years, I was favoured with a conviction at about 18 years of age, of the danger I was in, & so far awakened as to have a wish raised in my heart for a better inheritance. Through many deviations, I have been in some degree preserved to this day. I have had much to feel for a beloved brother & sister until the time it pleased infinite wisdom to take them to himself. Their offspring in various ways now engage my tender attention. Whilst I was thus brooding over my past sorrows, perhaps unprofitably, Shurmer Bath entered—the almost shadow of what he once was—yellow, emaciated, & hardly able to move.

Sixth mo. 2nd Spent a very comfortable afternoon with Anna Fry & her good daughter. The former was in bed in a very reduced state. She said she was neither easy by day nor by night, & therefore thought nature could not hold out much longer. She added she earnestly desired preparation for her change, which appeared much to occupy her mind.

5th From returning once more after attending on the blind & some other schools at their repast, & once more meeting Shurmer Bath, I found my husband reading a letter from my brother Tuckett, which confirmed a report we had previously heard respecting the widow of John Wright (Banker) of Esher in Surrey. This subject for a considerable time took possession of my thoughts. I wished to act with propriety & the next morning answered his letter. On first day I received an affectionate kind reply, which dwelt long in my mind as a proof of regard. My husband was at this time poorly, & Esther also; whom I was solicitous to inform of the intended alteration in her father's family. Yet I cherished a hope of her obtaining a real friend in his new wife, her youth, as she was represented to be a woman of great prudence, so far from being an objection in this point of view, rather promising advantages as a successor to myself who perhaps though not so foolishly fond, might be a more useful friend. Her acceptance of a man of my brother's age & character was some proof to me that she possessed a steady sensible mind.

7th month 1st Third day, after meeting John Duck called on us in usual health, & in the evening of the same day (tho' I heard it not till next morning) he fell down in the old Market, as he was crossing the street to his own house, in an apoplectic fit. He never spoke more than one sentence afterwards, & that was soon after his seizure, when he said "Dearest Lord! Blessed Jesus!" He lived till the following first day, when Shurmer Bath was at our house, expressing a wish to see him, not then knowing he had breathed his last.

The 6th day before were married J. Were & Hester Ash. Thus are some losing & some making new connections.

8th Third day after meeting, I visited the poor widow Duck, who had lost her all being left without adequate means of supporting a young family, which was certainly an aggravation of the loss of an excellent husband; yet she appeared calm & resigned. Very late this evening my brother Tuckett & his sister Sally arrived, & the next morning I paid them a visit. 6th day Esther & her father went to Moored & walked back the next evening, when Shurmer Bath called. It was his last visit, & he did what he had never done before—he eat a bit with us.

18th 6th day was buried from Fryar's Meeting at Redclift Yard the remains of Sally Hoskins. Before I went to meeting Emma informed us of the removal

of our ancient friend Sarah Stevenson the evening preceeding in her 92nd year.

After dinner I went with my brother Tuckett to see her daughters, to whom we paid a desirable visit. 2nd day we went to Shurmer Bath's together, hearing he was worse; but he being in bed & very ill we were not admitted. He died the 26th Inst: It is now 40 years since I was first acquainted with him, & many were the hours in time passed, I have enjoyed his interesting conversation.

30th I attended with my husband (but not as invited guests) the funeral of our deceased friend at Redclift burying ground. It drew together great numbers. The blind school & two or three other schools attended to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of their benefactor. Thos: Rutter was there, though from his being so very poorly he was not expected. He delivered a very lively testimony at the grave,^{egg} where the heat of the weather was very great.

31st Fifth day. Spent most of the morning with my brother, who was preparing to set out for Alton to meet his friend there. Esther went after dinner to spend two weeks at Hallen where Sally Eady was. About this time Mary Watson & Mary Alexander were in Bristol, both excellent preachers.

8th mo 3rd First day morning. M. Watson preached. S. Tuckett went home with us to dinner after which I went with her to the Summer House in the garden. After tea a solemnity seemed to cover us, a silence ensued, & she soon began, I think in these words;— "The Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple;" on which she enlarged in an encouraging manner, expressing her satisfaction at this precious opportunity in which she said she felt we were united. As she proceeded she said much, of a state of quietude wherein the new heaven & the new earth would be experienced, & all things, under this feeling would be best enjoyed. In this quiet, safe abiding place we were to look neither backward nor forward but, centred in the present moment, resign all things into the hands of Infinite Wisdom. After she had ended, my husband entered & sat down with us. To him she expressed her great regard, & her belief of the integrity of his mind. She wished him to bend his thoughts more towards the solemn close which must in the course of years, be soon expected, desiring that whatsoever he did, he might do it to the glory of God. This was a small part of this affectionate Testimony which left a sweet savour on my mind; & occasioned a fresh renewal of ardent desire for ability to dwell in the present moment. My husband & myself staid together at evening-meeting time very

^{egg} Thus ended the useful labours of this truly gospel minister who had been a faithful labourer in his Lord's vineyard for more than 40 years. Often had I sat under his ministry with a feeling sense of its value. {SCF}

comfortably;—unitedly I believe, feeling the good influence of the foregoing.

3rd day Heard that poor Geo: Bush was married.

6th day the 8th Mary Mills & her agreeable niece drank tea with us. She told me that our friend Thos: Rutter was very ill. I afterwards found that he had been brought home from the country in that state on the preceeding day. This affecting account painfully occupied my mind.

First day the 10th Finding on enquiry the day before, that T.R. grew worse, I determined to go there after the morning meeting. I found his poor wife & daughter in great distress. I went home to dine & finish a letter to P.D.T., but returned immediately through intense heat. Hearing I was in the house, he requested to see me. He was seated by his bedside appearing very weak, though not looking particularly ill in the face, in which there was an expression that indicated something superior to bodily suffering. He addressed me as one whom he had long known—said he did not clearly see the event of his illness—that if he was raised up it would be in mercy & if he was taken it would be in mercy—that his sufferings were very great, but that he was preserved from a murmuring thought—that he was favoured with peace, feeling a persuasion that if he was removed he should go well; adding, “But it is all in free mercy, for I have nothing whereof to boast save mine infirmities. Tell all my friends that I have no good works to plead, nothing to lean upon but the mercy of God in Jesus Christ.” On soon perceiving he seemed weary, I was about to withdraw when he offered me his hand, saying I must excuse him. I took my leave with sensations of great satisfaction that I had been permitted to pay this visit. He had warned a friend that was with him not to leave preparation for the solemn change to a time of sickness; & once, when speaking of his reliance on a Redeemer, said, “If I die, I die in the belief that many will be raised up to preach this doctrine.”

I found on going to Castle St. the next morning little hope seemed to be left of our dear friend’s life; but after my return home, his partner came to tell me that relief had been procured. 3rd day the same apprehensions returned, but a second relief was followed by favourable symptoms, so that hopes were entertained of his life being prolonged, & that he might be measurably restored. I once after saw him in his parlour.

7th day (16th) My husband had a letter from Esher inviting himself, Esther & me to pay a visit there previous to the marriage. The following 3rd day we had much thunder.

21st The Thermometer sank 24 degrees. Esther & I drank tea with F. Cookworthy, whose wife was in Wales. On my return home, I was surprised

to find that M. Pince had in my absence been confined with a little girl, whom they called Mary.

After mature deliberation my husband gave up going to London, believing he was not equal to the undertaking, but was willing I should go with Esther.

23rd Having received a letter from my old friend Codrington (who had lately lost an only & beloved son) informing me he was at Clifton with a daughter who appeared to be in a decline. I went, Hetty C. with me, to pay him a visit. He appeared much altered since we met many years ago, but sincerely, I believe, glad to see me. His daughter appeared very ill, & very apprehensive that her complaints were of the same nature as her deceased mother's. Truly did I pity my old acquaintance, & most sincerely wished his afflictions might be sanctified to him.

First day morning, the 24th Thos: Pole was in the gallery & preached. He stood long & appeared much increased in the Ministry. I had also the pleasure of seeing Sam^l Dyer in the gallery, who had been absent a considerable time. After meeting I went to take leave of Thos: Rutter, but he was too poorly to see me, though no immediate danger was apprehended.

I also called on M. Waring & saw her little son. Joshua Williams, J. & P. Fry, & J. P. Williams drank tea with us. In the evening there was a publick meeting appointed by T. Pole, but I was not able to attend it.

Second day the 25th About 4 o'clock I set out in a chaise with my young companion Esther Tuckett, Emma Berry accompanying us as far as Bath thus leaving my kind affectionate husband & beloved home to the care of Hetty C.—not to gratify my own inclination, for I felt very much on the occasion, but to oblige the father of my dear Esther, who had been, under many distressing trials, more than a brother to me. After I had taken a last look of my husband & taken leave of my friends (in which term I include S. Eady, the widow, More, & our own domestics) I foolishly wept as if I was never to return, though I intended to be absent only two weeks. Our companion staid at Bath to see us seated in the two-day coach the next morning, with two girls added to my own. The horses were good the coachman civil, & I was much pleased with this mode of travelling. One of the young women we left at Devizes. At the Inn in London the next evening, we were met by my brother & George Champion. They took us to Sampson Hanbury's, who came from the country after breakfast next morning, & by his behaviour entitled himself to the same regard I felt for him when we were both resident at my brother Tuckett's. My spirits were worn out by fatigue & disappointment; for my brother had taken me this morning, to a distant part of the town to consult Were the Oculist, whether anything could be done to improve my dear Esther's eyes; but nothing appeared practicable. To make this attempt had been one of my motives in undertaking this

journey, it having been her mother's wish to make the trial. Finding therefore all aids ineffectual to obtain this inlet of knowledge, I found I must rest satisfied to leave it as it was, being convinced that her Heavenly Father can make her as fit for a happy inhabitant of his Kingdom, as those capable of the highest human attainments. About 3 o'clock, we entered a chaise to drive to Esher, there to be introduced to a person who was to stand in the near relation of a wife, a mother, & a sister. Of these ideas I was fully possessed when presented to the intended successor of my own sister. Her youth, from the smallness of her size was the more striking at first sight. I soon found her as I had been led to expect from many who knew her, a very interesting character, which was expressed in an animated countenance. She was easy in her manner & frank in her communications with me. There were with her two sisters—the eldest a married woman, Mary Madox & very agreeable—the other, Sally, appeared reserved but very clever, & next in age to herself a very genteel figure. Before we left Esher a young woman Priscilla Ransom, came home, with whom Esther seemed pleased & who I hope, might prove a suitable companion for her. During our six days' stay at this beautiful place we drank tea at Joseph James's, called on an agreeable young woman, & went to see a nobleman's seat—once Lord Clive's—and, on the same day we set out, we attended their week day meeting. My brother took us to E. Cookworthy's at Stockwood, staid to dine with us there, & then returned to Esher. We staid with E. Cookworthy (drinking tea at her father's) till the next morning, when our kind friend accompanied us to town, where I intended to stay a few days. We first called on Sam. Were (whose wife was lying in) & she left us at the Levorian Museum.¹³² Thence we walked over Black Fryars' Bridge to Paul's Church yard very agreeably, & a degree of pleasure seemed to take possession of my mind at the thoughts of spending a few days in London. At T. Howand's we again met S. Cookworthy, who taking me aside told me that George Champion was waiting for me in the next room, with a letter from my husband announcing the removal of my truly valued friend Thomas Rutter, who was released on the 2nd Inst, from at times, as much suffering as human nature could support. This information was accompanied with a desire from H. Rutter, that I would return to attend the burial, which was fixed for the following Firstday, Almost overcome by this unexpected news I soon felt myself so debilitated by weeping that I thought undertaking the journey so hastily would be more than I was capable of performing. As soon as I was able to move Geo. C. got a coach & conveyed me to his own house. When I had rested there some time a desire seemed prevalent in my mind to comply with the request of my afflicted friend, & on getting the willing consent of my young companion, I determined to set out the next morning in the two day coach. We spent the time after dinner in some necessary business, returning to tea to G.C.'s with Sam. Were & E. Cookworthy. The latter accompanied us to call on my friend E. Bevington & at some other places. James Buckingham & Eliza

spent the evening with us, & after a nearly sleepless night, he accompanied us to the coach in a very rainy morning, where we were in hopes to have gone alone, but we took up one companion of nearly the bulk of two moderate persons & perhaps affording us as much talk. At the door of the Inn where we stopt at Bath the next evening, I saw to my inexpressible satisfaction, my husband waiting for us—a very unexpected pleasure. After tea we had a very comfortable ride by moonlight arriving in James' Square at about 10 o'clock. The next morning we went to the house of mourning by 9 o'clock & were seated in the parlour where I had so often conversed with the valuable deceased. Whilst my feelings were exercised on the loss I had with many others, sustained, it seemed as if I felt it a revival of the loss of the friends of my youth. My cotemporaries {sic} had dropt off one by one, & indeed of late in quick succession & if a few—a very few—more should be removed, I shall be ready almost to feel myself alone in a busy world, in which it appears there is still something left for me to do, not merely for others but for my own further preparation, that I may be ready to follow those who have followed Christ. As soon as the company was collected (which I apprehend was more than two hundred) we proceeded to Friar's Yard in solemn procession through streets filled with spectators. At our entrance into the Yard we were joined by most of the society uninvited, as well as many other, so that the concourse was great. David Dent & Joseph Clark bore testimony to the fitness of the deceased for his final change; one of them saying he was convinced, he was received into glory. S. Dyer solemnly addressed several states. At near eleven, it might be truly said, we crowded into the meeting house, every part of which was inconveniently full. The widow was followed by six children the elder ones of which were exceedingly affected. After the assembly was settled several lively short Testimonies were delivered, after which Thos. Pole (who came from Bath on the occasion) began by pointing out the necessity of soundness in every member of the Body to qualify it to do its office in the Church of Christ. He then pressed upon us the attainment of vital, experimental religion, without which the best doctrines would be ineffectual. Towards the conclusion he set forth the uncertainty of life in many apt & beautiful portions of scripture, & then said he should not feel himself a faithful steward if he did not communicate to the present audience some particulars of an interview he had with our worthy deceased brother a few days before his death. He commissioned him to tell his friends that he died in the same faith he had been convinced of at seventeen years of age, which had been his support through the trials of life, & sustained him at the awful close. T.P. then reminded us of his gospel labours amongst us, which on that very spot where he now stood, as good counsel, flowed from his lips, & expressed an earnest wish that we might be prepared to join his blessed spirit in those celestial regions where he fully believed he was a happy inhabitant, & if a fitness preceded we should in our expiring moments be enabled to cry out, "O death

where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory." S. Dyer was then engaged in earnest supplication. He prayed for the mourners; after which Rich^d Gilles added a few words recommending our attention to the truths that had been delivered expressing his belief of the valued deceased being safely landed on the heavenly shores, where he also hoped we might be prepared to join him. Thus ended a solemnly affecting meeting & such were the feeling that accompanied it that I was truly thankful I had come home to attend it. The savour of it remained for a considerable time, which, with my feelings on being returned home & to those I loved in it made me very comfortable, though tenderly sympathizing with the mournful survivor of my departed friend, to whom on the next day I paid a visit. Hitherto she felt her loss too acutely to be sensible of the support, no doubt, afforded her, & her health appeared to suffer.

7th day I drank tea with her, after which unexpectedly arrived D. Darby & R. Bird, who, though at first reluctant, soon desired to see them & they staid to lodge.

3rd day at meeting, George Withy stood up with some affecting remarks on the vacant seat of our deceased friend, which he said had strongly affected his mind, to which he added & delivered the following which T.R. had said to him in his last illness, "O that I had the voice of an Archangel that I might sound forth the glorious truth that it is not by works of righteousness which we have done but according to his mercy hath he saved us by the washing of regeneration & the renewal of the Holy Ghost, through the atoning blood of Him who died for us & rose again. G. Withy afterwards supplicated that a double portion of Elijah's spirit might rest upon the Elishas that were left.

9th mo 17th 4th day was our Quarterly Meeting. Our ancient Friend Mary Ridgway & S.A. preached at the first meeting. The next afternoon as I was sitting alone in the summer house, my friend Sukey Appleby came to see us, staid tea & went afterwards to the blind school. Her company was truly pleasant to me, When she left, I accompanied her to H. Rutter's, & left her at A. Till Adams' where she lodged & where I paid a little visit to M. Ridgway. There were riots in the town this evening & the next morning.

19th 6th day At meeting P. H. Gurney stood up saying the words that had been delivered by her companion (A. Diamond) on a late memorable occasion (T.R.'s funeral) "Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves & your children" she had felt a, desire to revive; & hoped that the Church's loss might lead us to seek more & more, after the Holy Head. Mary Were, in one of her sweet songs, reminded us, "that though a branch was broken off, the vine remained." M. Ridgway began with the following portion of Scripture "Weep not for the dead, but weep for him that goeth away into captivity for he shall no more return to his native land. She added she believed many wept for the loss the Church militant had sustained in this city; yet there was no

cause to mourn for those who died in the Lord, as such were pronounced blessed." The next First-day she was again engaged.

Tenth Month. On 4th day arrived, as expected, my brother Tuckett his bride & her two sisters. They staid only a few days in Bristol, dividing their visit between us & John Tuckett. It was very rainy weather, & I was really concerned our new relation should see Bristol & its environs to such a disadvantage. They set out from our house & recalled to me the time of my accompanying my brother & sister Tuckett on their first visit to the West after their marriage.

5th day morning Emma accompanied me up the hill where after paying a comfortable visit to M. Dimsdale, we called on Caroline Tuckett, whose pretty infant was dangerously ill under inoculation, & in a few days ceased to suffer. After some days confinement from indisposition I had the pleasure on the 19th of receiving my brother Fox from Plymouth who staid with us till the 5th of 11th mo. His visit left a pleasant savour. In the course of the first week he was with us, H. & M. Davies drank tea with us & took their leave, being about to visit their daughter in Ireland. I also visited, as I frequently did H. Rogers who now appeared as if she could not be here much longer. 6th day I went to Springers to try the effect of electricity on Esther's eyes it having been recommended by Were.

First day, M. Ridgway spoke on the trials of Job & on inward worship.

31st 6th day. She was again engaged at meeting, after which, with her agreeable companion, she dined with us; whose company I much enjoyed.

Eleventh month 2nd First day, M.R. stood a long time & on 3rd day excellently. On hearing H. Rogers was worse I went to her, & found her in a dying state. My offer to S.B. of staying not being accepted, & her aunt not opening her eyes, I left them, though wishing to stay longer, which it is probable I should have done had I thought she would again revive, as I afterwards found she did—sat up in her bed & spoke sensibly. About seven in the evening she wished to lie down, refusing to be assisted, saying she could help herself, which she did & immediately expired after a long & tedious illness.

11th 3rd day Sukey Appleby came to bid us farewell. After drinking tea, I accompanied her to friend Bevan's & left her there.

12th Just as we were going to dinner my husband was taken very poorly. We sent to Jerman the apothecary, a young man who succeeded John Duck. The measures he used produced a quiet night, but his head continued so bad the next day that he could not bear the least light without being sick. Dr. Fox saw him after dinner, before which he was rather better. From this time he continued gradually to mend till the 23rd when he came into the parlour to

dinner. In the morning of this day I went with Esther to Temple Street meeting on account of Mary Cook & Charity Sweet being there; as I had been confined by my husbands illness, ever since they had been in town Esther went with her friend Rutters to Guinea Street to dine, & I returned home to my beloved husband whose illness had drawn me the more closely to him. Hetty C. had been a kind nurse to her uncle.

27th I had a letter from my brother Tuckett to inform us, that they intended to be at their own house in James' Square the next day. They came as expected to tea, I called on them about 7 o' clock, & after a short visit left them with sincere desires for their happiness.

1801

First month "The beginning of a new century in the course of which to me the most important change must take place, is sufficient to impress the necessity of preparation for that awful hour we all know to be unavoidable." Methinks I have known enough of the value of all this world can bestow to expect little more from it at the age of, very near 59.

1st Emma Berry spent very comfortably with us, & the next day Ann Bird & H. Stevenson dined with us very agreeably to us.

5th Interestingly engaged in copying part of a journal of my departed friend Thos: Rutter which was sent me to read; though I was so unwell that nothing short of a strong will would have induced me to do it. About this time Sally Eady opened her school. We lately changed servants—the upper servant a very agreeable steady young woman (R. Wallis) who had lived with Hester Rutter.

12th 2nd day Visited the Springers, to whom H. Roger had left twenty pounds.

13th M. Arch dined with us, & I spent a comfortable afternoon with my friend Bengough.

14th In the morning had an interview with T. Jerman, which engaged my mind in sincere desires for his best interest.

16th Stephen Knight, from Newfoundland, dined with us, with whose company we were all much pleased.

2nd mo 2nd Walked to see poor little Nancy at the Orphan Asylum. Esther bore me company. We found the poor child very ill. There was something in her manner which appeared above her station—something that indicated she was near to that state where all human distinctions will cease. Much pleased both with my walk & visit, I returned home very little fatigued. The weather was mild & fine for the season & my spirits were perhaps a little enlivened by its being the 11th anniversary of our marriage. Thus circumstanced I

received Hetty & her aunt Mary from Stoke to dinner in a state of more enjoyment than has of late usually fallen to my lot either through want of health or spirits. M. Lloyd also appeared more capable of relishing life than she generally was, from some favourable expectations respecting her brother who had been a source of many trials to her. We passed the day cheerfully commemorating it in a small degree, as a festival. M.L. went next day to lodgings she had engaged for a short time, & my mind was engaged in the reflection of having yet spared to me a kind, tender, affectionate husband who, though in "the vale of years," found himself better than he was before his last illness. The following First day Sam^l Smith from America was at meeting, & engaged in a lively manner & again on 3rd day.

23rd 2nd day My husband walked so poorly with a sore throat that I expected we should be obliged to give up going to Bath as we had engaged to do: to pay a visit to our cousins G. & C. Fox; but after taking his breakfast & rising he found himself so much better that we went & staid with them, as intended till 4th day; & considering the circumstances under which we went, & the size of the family there with their engagements, as agreeable as could have been expected, though not in such uninterrupted enjoyment of my friend's conversation as a more sequestered situation would have admitted. Myself & Hetty much engaged with M. Baker for a few days.

3rd Mo. 4th Paid one more visit to little Nancy at the orphan asylum. She was still living, though she had taken to her bed, where it felt comfortable to me to sit near her. She died soon after.

6th Drank tea very comfortably with Hannah Stevenson.

9th second day Esther took possession of her bed at our house though she was at home by day till the family went to Frenchay, to reside in the pleasant house where lately dwelt Mary Beck.

This same day John Harford, wife & family, including Elizabeth Prior came to tea, & James Harford, who had lately returned from accompanying David Sands to Scotland, spent the evening with us unexpectedly.

Third-day at dinner, received my friend C. Fox from Bath. This afforded me a little quiet opportunity of enjoying her society till the time of the Select Meeting, when I took her to H. Stevenson's. She was too poorly the next morning to attend the meeting for worship, but I accompanied her to the second meeting & dined with her at my brother Tuckett's, after which we all adjourned to our house to tea; but the company did not stay supper. Our guest left us the next day.

31st 3rd day My brother & sister came to us at tea time & staid to lodge, as their own habitation was nearly stripped of furniture, & Sally Curtis & P. Ransome gone to Frenchay. The next day

4th mo 1st They went after dinner to their delightful abode, which I hope they will enjoy. It was evident that living in town did not agree, with my sister T. as she had ever been used to the country.

2nd {March} I went to take a last look & a last farewell of a house where I passed the last hours of my dear sister's life; & as I sat in her chambers I felt peaceful & truly thankful for her being entered into bliss. My tears were tears of tenderness not of regret. My brother came to town & dined with us on 6th day. I was much fatigued in the evening in walking to Temple St. to see poor M. Pince, whose husband this very day had set out on a journey of business with George Eaton, fearing he should not again see his beloved little suffering boy in mutability. The next morning there were great riots in the market on account of the dearness of provisions. My husband was in town but came home unhurt in excellent spirits. The following day however, whilst I was at evening meeting, (Hetty C. informed me) his breath was affected & he seemed poorly; but there was no appearance of it after I came home when he eat a good supper & had a good night's rest. It was fixed for us to set out the next morning for Plymouth, but it was intended our stay should be shorter than usual, (my husband wanting to be home to his garden). It was concluded Hetty C. should not go, so she & Esther were left together.

6th 2nd day morning Fred Cookworthy joined us & we set out for Plymouth in comfortable spirits, & had a very pleasant ride to Sidcot, where we called in order to tell Mary Stanton who was visiting her son there, that she might return in the chaise. We dined at Bridgwater & drank tea at Taunton. It was very unpleasant on account of two young men being under condemnation for assisting in the riots, though otherwise honest & industrious. We went to Wellington to sleep, where we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with our agreeable niece Sally Prideaux.^{hhh} She was there nursing her poor mother, who was so ill that her life was not long expected. Yet we paid her two visits in her room, during our stay under her hospitable roof, where we slept two nights,—drank tea at Milverton with Lydia Prideaux Jun. & Mary Cookworthy. Both evenings at Wellington my husband's breath was affected, though it appeared the night's rest quite recovered him.

8th 4th day morning, we set forward. Thos. Fox's family was in a distressing situation,—his eldest daughter ill in a fever,—the third (Mary) given over in a decline—the poor mother expecting to be confined hourly. The morning we left we had the satisfaction of hearing that she was safely confined with a son (Charles). We dined at the Hotel at Exeter where I called on Martha Moon at Joel Cadbury's. Poor Joel once so sensible that I have listened for

^{hhh} Née Were, wife of Walter Prideaux of Kingsbridge. {note by Theodore Naish?}

hours to hear him & my friend Codringtonⁱⁱⁱ (lately deceased) conversed together. But now how reverse his situation! His memory gone—his imagination so disordered that he knew not he had a wife, never acknowledging her as such. He gazed at me, some time as if trying to recollect. A faint gleam of pleasure was then expressed in his countenance, & he said he remembered me, & was very reluctant for me to depart, & urged that I should call again. We reached Chudleigh by tea time, where we staid that night, & where my husband's breath was again troublesome on his first going to bed, but he again slept well & waked cheerful. After breakfast we set out & got to Ivy Bridge, our favourite spot, to dinner. Here I felt something for which I could not account an apprehension of my best friend's not being well; & yet there appeared no foundations for such apprehensions. But it seemed to be from the more than usual placidity of his looks & manners & the quietude with which his mind appeared clothed that I derived my fears. Indeed feelings of the very great uncertainty of present blessings, & of the life of my beloved husband had been prevalent a long time in my mind; insomuch that I believe a day never had passed, since Dr. Fox said that sudden death was to be expected, in which I did not think of the subject,—but never, I think, accompanied with such feelings as at this time. To my solicitous enquiry how he was, he replied he was pretty well & appeared in comfortable spirits. After a season of rest, we set forward on a fine afternoon, & I should probably have lost some of the above described sensations, had not our companion F.C. been under the same painful influence. On our entering Plymouth Streets I observed to him in a way not to be heard but by himself, that now I might say, I hoped with thankfulness, "we are safely arrived at Plymouth." "Yes" he replied, "we are, but I can see no pleasure there, All seems gloom before me," & he really appeared under much apprehension of he knew not what. He left us at my brother Fox's, where, in the satisfaction of meeting our friends, every unpleasant sensation was forgotten by me, & we passed a cheerful evening, in the course of which we learned that Stephen Knight who sailed some time before we left home for Newfoundland, was now at Plymouth. His vessel had been taken by the French, & when near enough to converse with those on their coast it was retaken by the English & brought into this port—a very unexpected deliverance to our friend.

At an early hour we retired with an expectation of our usual rest, but on lying down my husband's breath became so much affected that it occasioned him much suffering, & was very distressing to me. However, it soon abating, he fell asleep, but waked at 5 o'clock with a still more severe attack, accompanied with a great pain in his chest extending to his elbows. This he had frequently experienced after walking, but never till within the few last

ⁱⁱⁱ He died about three weeks after burying the daughter he brought to Clifton. {SCF}

days attended with straightness of breathing. He was so restless that he could not stay in bed—got up & dressed. As soon as I was dressed I called my brother Fox who sent for Dr. Young. The medicines given relieved in a considerable degree the pain & shortness of breath & recovered him so far as to enable him to spend the day in the Drawing-room, where he got some sleep on the sofa. He also conversed cheerfully with Stephen Knight. After dinner I felt myself so relieved as to pay Lovall a short visit & called coming back at S. Fox's; but though I staid out but a very short time, I had the disappointment of finding the bad symptoms returned. He went to bed & was relieved by an opiate—was drowsy all the next day. At noon he chose to rise, & dosed most of the rest of the day in an easy chair, & was got comfortably to bed, from which I flattered myself he would get good rest. But it was far otherwise, the pain again returning. He got easier for some hours, but from this time I generally lost sight of hope & should probably have wholly done so had not the doctor appeared very sanguine, & therefore I sometimes fancied he was better. Under this influence I wrote to Hetty Champion for whom I felt much, knowing how nearly she was attached to her uncle, & how much he loved to be nursed by her. On first day morning Fred Cookworthy called to see him whom he seemed glad to see & converse a little with, but the remainder of the day he mostly dosed. He once called me "his dear, precious Sally," but said nothing particular. During the last night he took freely & always appeared to know me (but not clearly the person who sat up) & took the medicine the doctor had recommended which did not take effect. Soon after, others as well as myself saw the solemn close approaching. The doctor was sent for who administered a clyster¹³³ without effect. I had absented myself a little while, being much agitated, though till then favoured with ability to stay in the room both by day & night, & many times have I regretted that I ever left it though for so short a time; because on my returning to it, going directly to the bedside, some one drew the curtain as I apprehended, to prevent my approach, & perceiving some kind of convulsive motion, I sat down in the easy chair, endeavouring to get at that in myself which could alone sustain in an hour like this. Here language fails. Suffice it to say that his soul quitted its mansion with the sweet serenity of an infant falling asleep in the arms of its parents—an apt emblem, I trust, of his closing scene in a spiritual sense! When I quitted the room where I had last enjoyed the sweet intercourse of such a friend as few beside were ever blessed with, I seemed as if I was in a dream, ready to doubt whether the sad scene thro' which I had passed, was certainly real. But I should remember the kindness of our nieces to their dear deceased uncle, as well as their unremitting attention to me. In the midst of all I still felt for poor Hetty C. well knowing how great would be her grief when she knew the loss she had sustained of one whom she considered & loved as a father.

18th 7th day evening My brother Tuckett paid me a visit soon after their arrival. I felt his sympathy consolatory. G. Champion came to Plymouth on the occasion. The next morning my sister Tuckett paid me a visit before I rose, as I had requested to see her then. After the company was gone to attend the remains of their beloved friend & relative, I got up, but excused myself from dining in company, after which I had a most acceptable visit from Jonathan Binns & Sally Tuckett. The latter after a short but solemn pause said that on taking her seat by me, whom she stiled her dear friend, she had felt her mind strongly & sweetly impressed that it was well with the deceased, who though not led in a path so strait—as some had, she fully believed, acted up to the knowledge & light afforded. Soon after J. Binns said he had this day, as well as in days that were passed over & gone, been reminded, as applicable to the dear deceased, of that passage in Scripture “Mark the perfect man & behold the upright for the end of that man is peace,” & he hoped his surviving friend was favoured with a degree of resignation & enabled to say, “The Lord gave & the Lord hath taken away, blessed be his name.” The day before I left the house I sat some time alone in the chamber where I had attended my best friend the last 3 days of his natural life. On this occasion I was favoured with a portion of that peace which I fully believe he partook of in those suffering moments which preceeded his entrance into the regions of peace & joy. & if we believe that the state on which we enter on leaving the body is that which is most suited to the prevailing dispositions of the mind, I know few more formed for happiness than he was, as the promotion of peace on earth & good will to man was evidently the happy frame of his mind which he had lately been peculiarly favoured with. I was ready to term it a holy quietude. The diffidence he had of his religious attainments, seldom allowed him to say much on such subjects, yet one evening before we left home, I had remarked, in some things he dropped, a greater freedom than usual. His religious principles were truly Christian, untinctured by the modern systems which at present so unhappily prevail. I think in all my experience I never met with anyone who had so true an enjoyment of life. He had perhaps fewer trials than fall to the lot of most in this probationary state. Few probably required less for their refinement. Little indispositions & occasional pains would sometimes, like intervening clouds, obscure the sunshine. The serenity of his temper made it very pleasant to live with him. It was seldom disturbed; yet if ruffled; which was seldom the case, did not so easily subside as if more easily moved. But in the 11 years I had the happiness of being his wife, the instances were so uncommon that they are almost erased from my memory. For we lived together in so much harmony that I should have been in danger of forgetting my own weak side had I been only conversant at home finding, nothing there to irritate a temper naturally warm. I think I can appeal to others who were acquainted with him, for a confirmation of the truth of the above remarks.

The hour fixed for my departure approaching, I dreaded the moment of bidding farewell to those Friends who had manifested such affectionate attention to me in the hour of trial. After breakfasting in bed, I sat with them pretty much in silence a few minutes, & then (22nd Inst) went down stairs for the first time, & stepped into the chaise with my brother Jas & sister C. Fox. Ivy Bridge naturally proved a place very affecting, as I had enjoyed so many hours there with the dear deceased. Here, however, we only staid to change horses, dined at Lloyd's at Ashburton & lodged at the London Inn, Exeter. The next day we dined & took tea at the White Hart, Wellington, where we were visited by Thomas Fox & Sally Prideaux, whose mother was still in a suffering state. They brought little L. Prideaux. At Taunton I felt so ill in the night I was fearful of not being able to proceed the next day, but was better after rising. At Cross where we dined, we met George Champion & F. Cookworthy who was going in the stage to Bristol. About 8 o'clock in the evening of the 24th we arrived in James' Square, after a very fatiguing ride to both body & mind. The sight of my once loved home was so affecting that the very recollection in writing this, some time after, is too painful to dwell upon. But after weeping with my dear Hetty C., by whom, as by E. Berry & my dear Esther, I was most affectionately received, I found some relief. Early after my return, I received many friendly visits—one from H. Stevenson sweetly consolatory. Some needful attention to worldly matters was indispensable but gone through as a painful task, being assisted by my valuable brothers.

Fifth mo 1st Sixth day I made an effort to go to meeting, but did not find the comfort I wished there.

3rd First day I was persuaded to go to Frenchay Meeting, & afterwards dined at my brother's. One of my inducements in paying such an early visit was that he & my sister were going from home the next week; another was the smallness of the meeting. 5th day. While the family were visiting Hetty C. & myself went in a coach to see poor little John Pince, who was so ill I was unwilling to delay my visit to him. Cousin Dimsdale dined with us the next day. My brother F. went this next month to B'ham for about 10 days.

13th My valuable sister (C. Fox) left me to go to Bath in order to attend the London Yearly Meeting with Catherine Fox. Hetty C. was at Stoke, & Esther at Frenchay, as they did not expect her to go so soon. But though I felt forlorn, I wish never to cherish a gloomy idea, believing it right individually to guard against such an unprofitable disposition, it being surely our duty as well as interest to contribute as much as possible to the comfort of those around us, & this is one way in which I understand "preferring others to ourselves"—that is their comfort to our own indulgence. M. Stanton drank tea & Emma Berry supped with me & staid to lodge. Hetty C. came home

the next morning & Esther on 6th day in the morning of which I was at meeting though very low.

Hester Rutter came in unexpectedly & staid tea, being well qualified to sympathize—herself “a stricken dear.”

Sixth Month 4th Fifth day. When the school walked John Pince brought up poor little John, who was a little revived & had a great desire to come. It was the first time I had seen John, as he had very lately returned from a journey. I was comforted by what he said, for my mind was at this time in a very low spot. This valuable man was favoured once more to see his darling suffering boy. Sometime the little fellow would express an ardent desire to be released, querying “When shall I go—when will it be my turn?” The next evening Sam^l Dyer spent with us. 7th day morning G. & C. Fox brought back my sister E. Fox from the London Yearly Meeting. G.F. was much improved in health since he came to Bath, to which place they returned after tea.

8th 2nd day On going into the dinner parlour after having, received a visit from M. Harford of Blaize Castle, I found my brother Tuckett, who had returned with his wife & sister to Frenchay on 7th day evening. The sight of him was truly pleasant to me yet the surprise affected me very much.

10th Hetty C. was sent for to her aunt, Mary Lloyd, who was seized the evening before with vomiting of blood. This was the last day I had the company of my brother Fox whose kind attention I was truly sorry to lose. He left us next morning early. My brother T. spent the whole day with us, which was partly engaged in business. About this time I had a visit from Dr. Ludlow. One afternoon I went on horseback to see poor M. Lloyd, whom I found very ill, though better than she had been. She appeared calm & resigned. We drank tea by her bedside. She expressed her belief that she should not recover—said she considered her being so calm a great mercy &c. I was much pleased I had paid this visit.

6th day Though very poorly I dined with E. Fox & E.B. at York Hotel with G. & C. Fox who were there for a short time. C.F. & her daughter one day dined with us, & again 3rd day with my brother T. who generally came twice a week.

28th First day after meeting our cousin G. C. Fox & family called to take leave. They set out for Falmouth the next day, & again with pleasure I observed his improvement, though he is never likely to enjoy good health. Our much esteemed friend Sarah Stevenson was at this day’s meeting. She was come to Bristol to embark for America in her great Master’s service. Hetty C. returned, leaving her aunt much better.

2nd day E. Fox went to the Select Meeting at Frenchay, & returned the next evening after the Quarterly Meeting, About this time I was under a heavy

pressure of spirits on Esther T.'s account, from which I was relieved in a little time after.

Seventh Month. At our Monthly Meeting S. Stevenson was singularly engaged to the youth, first holding up to them, as a striking example of early piety, our beloved Sukey Rogers whose name, before she concluded, she said she had no objection to mention. It was to me an affecting season; & though I enjoyed the just praises bestowed on my dear departed friend, so many years since called to glory, yet I could not help feeling the many deprivations I had sustained of valuable friends.

Hetty C. had again this day been sent for to her aunt, her disorder being returned. On 6th day I went over expecting she was gone, but found her rather revived, very calm & comfortable, patiently waiting for her change. This proved my last visit to an old friend with whom I had passed through many varying scenes. She lived till the 12th Inst., when after a severe conflict, she experienced, I trust, not only deliverance from the many trials passed through, but a true rest, "where the wicked cease from troubling." Poor Hetty C. though affectionately attached to her aunt, was thankful for her release, not doubting her change was happy.

About this time Sam^l Smith came to Bristol in order to join Sarah Stevenson & Mary Jeffreys in their passage to America. He attended our meetings on the 5th. At the latter, he was encouragingly engaged to the weak. It was an extraordinary meeting, at which S. Stevenson preached delightfully, affectingly alluding to her intended voyage, saying she had been enabled entirely to surrender herself into the hands of the Lord, & suggesting the improbability of our meeting again in mutability.

10th H. Stevenson dined with us & had afterwards a summons from John Grace to go with him after tea to his house in the country to meet her sister &c. The wind being unfavourable had induced them once more to set foot on English shore. On the 14th my sister E.F. with Ann Till Adams, paid them a visit. Soon after this they sailed.

17th At Mary Lloyds' funeral at Redclift. Sam Dyer addressed a state very closely who, he feared, was nearly past feeling. How often lately, have I visited the tombs of my ancestors!

20th Spent at Frenchay. We were accompanied by Matthew Wright, whose son came over in the evening on matrimonial business which did not succeed. In the course of this week, we drank tea at George Fisher's.

8th month The beginning of this month I went to see a small house in Brunswick Square, I had been induced to purchase, after, I hope, due consideration. I thought a smaller abode would add to my comfort & lessen my cares if not expenses. This day I was anew made sensible of the folly of

strong attachments to the brute creation, by the concern I felt at seeing a little dog (Minny) in a very suffering state; but he was loved by his master.

11th Went to Frenchay in the evening with my sister E.F. & Esther. Returned sixth day morning & brought Prissy Ransome with us, who went to London at noon.

22nd 7th day While my brother was dining with us, he mentioned that his brother had said he left his wife ill in bed, to which I replied it was their practice to be in bed when complaining, & thought no more of it. This was a day pleasingly interesting & affecting to my mind; though it was from what would perhaps have appeared a tifle to many that I derived satisfaction. It concerned my brother, whose attention felt very consoling, & I desire to be thankful for the possession of blessings still spared.

24th The whole Berry family dined with us. Soon after we were assembled, Ann Clark said she apprehended that Caroline Tuckett was dangerously ill; to which, being unwilling to give credit, I remarked the aptness of many to exaggerate such reports. Yet I could not get rid of the subject, & as soon as we had dined I sent Esther & Fanny to M. Reader's, who returned with the affecting tidings that this valuable woman breathed her last, amidst the tears of an affectionate family, about 1 P.M. that day. Thus in the strength of her days was suddenly called to an eternal state an excellent wife, who was often an attentive nurse, as she ever was a constant companion to an affectionate husband, who had often been in so poor a state of health that she had painfully anticipated a state of widowhood, & at the fear shed a tear of tenderness, over her infant family, many of whom were too young to be sensible of their loss. Seven were boys—two only of an age to sympathize with their father who appeared exceedingly grieved on the occasion. In this state we found him on 4th day morning, when we went to Clifton to pay him a visit. It was truly satisfactory to observe the affectionate attention paid him by his son Philip, though he seemed to feel his own loss, as did poor John, who was at this time very unwell; & surely no children ever lost a more affectionate indulgent mother. I had from, & indeed before, her marriage, loved Caroline, & once we frequently enjoyed the society of each other, but our separate engagements had long since prevented our frequent intercourse. Her remains were interred at Friars Yard. Nothing was said at the grave. S. Dyer came home with us to tea. T. Pole lodged at Cousin Dimsdale's & called.

9th mo. 1st Third-day G. Dilwin preached. My brother brought his father Curtis & brother Madox to dine. The remainder of the week I was so poorly as to be attended by Dr. Pole, who also successfully attended S. Wallis in a prevailing complaint.

First day at Meeting we had Sarah Lynes, G. Dilwyn, & T. Pole. Spent next day at cousin Dimsdale's.

11th Tea at Patty Cook's with Esther.

16th Quarterly Meeting. J. & M. Madox, S. & D. Curtis, & P. D. Tuckett, dined & drank tea with us. At the latter we had the company of E. Berry, S. Fox & wife, & Geo Dilwyn. G.D. after a long silence, preached on that part of *Pilgrims Progress*¹³⁴ where poor Christian fell into the slough of despond, cautioning some that if they should fall in there, they might be careful to get out on the right side—much more he said.

18th Sixth day, the family dining out, F. Pinnock dined with me, & Sally Allen joined us by accident. We had agreeable social intercourse. In the evening we attended a publick meeting, at which Sarah Lynes was eminently favoured; also G. Dilwyn & P. Blakes excellent. It might truly be called a season of feasting. G.D. again spoke on 3rd day.

25th Sixth day After dinner my dear friend & sister left me. At the parting moment I felt as I had never felt before. It was now the sister of my beloved deceased husband, & she had been such a constant companion of my sorrows, at & since the time of my losing him, that in separating from her the wound seemed to open afresh. Yet reflection afterwards helped me, & I immediately employed myself by setting about preparing things for my removal, in order to avoid too much thinking.

29th Two couples made their appearance at Monthly Meeting Edmund Naish & Ann Rees, Sam^l Lawrence & Lydia Tanner.

10th month. At the beginning of this month I was tired & perplexed in preparing the new house in Brunswick Square. However I journeyed forward in this troublesome business under much fatigue for two months. Spent the 2nd day [of the month] at Frenchay, where my sister T. was complaining. As Esther & I were entering Bristol on our return we heard the rumour of peace, which was confirmed the next morning.

7th day the 3rd When I had the great satisfaction of reading in the papers that the preliminaries of the so much wished for peace were signed. Myself as well as many others, received this account with tears of joy, & indeed the general transport. I might almost call it was extraordinary as was the occasion, for comparatively as in a moment, peace seemed to be restored followed by plenty. The populace were extravagant in their demonstrations of joy, particularly in the expectation of the arrival of the mail coach, but which did not arrive with the ratification of the peace till the 11th Inst.

6th My sister Tuckett was confined with a fine boy (Philip Debell Tuckett Jun.)

12th There was a general illumination in which there was much forbearance shown through the kindness of the magistrates to those of our society who bore their testimony against this way of showing their satisfaction. One house in Mary Port Street, was burnt down but no lives lost.

14th Was at meeting from whence was buried W^m Pink & his innocent brother-in-law Edmund Pearson.

18th On my returning home from visiting the widow H. after the morning meeting, a violent storm of rain & wind occasioned my taking shelter in a house in York St. I was invited into the parlour by the mistress of it, to whom I was quite a stranger, Sewel's *History of the Quakers*¹³⁵ lay open on the table in which she said she had been reading. She entered into conversation freely, telling me her troubles, which were very severe, yet it appeared they had led her to an acquaintance with herself. Some disappointment in the conduct of a high professor had struck her from an eminence on which she stood, & she concluded religion was a counterfeit. Her heart thus appeared to herself to become hardened. She endeavoured to disbelieve everything connected with religion. Yet she experienced great agony of mind & could obtain no rest till she felt an inclination to attend one of our Meetings. This, though silent, proved a time of convincement to her, & her poor wounded mind, seeing the necessity of being drawn from a dependance on man, began to find rest. From this time she had continued to attend meetings, though, the second time of her going, on something being delivered by some ministering friend, she was so much affected as to be led out nearly in a fainting state. On my taking leave we expressed mutual satisfaction at the interview, which she said she believed was not accidental. She had met with great outward as well as inward trials, but the sovereign remedy being found, she will, I trust, have cause to bless the bitter cup, & learn that affliction cometh not from the dust, neither doth sorrow spring from the ground.

28th At the morning meeting J. Helton, was singularly engaged to the youth who had lost their parents & near relatives by death representing what were now the wishes of such departed friends for them.

29th G. Champion came & spent a few days with us, informing us of his intention of going abroad on business. In the evening S. Appleby called, who said she was with S.D. on their way home from Bath. This visit though short was truly welcome.

Eleventh Month 6th Mary Madox, S. Curtis & my brother dined with us early, the former going away immediately afterwards homeward. She had left our sister Tuckett in tolerable health, & with a sweet little boy who was named Philip Debell. I had visited them in a few days after its birth with

great satisfaction. After M. Madox & S.C. left, we spent the afternoon with our neighbour Bengough.

First day Fanny Pinnock went to Temple Street with Esther & was taken ill there.

13th Myself & niece spent at Frenchay.

16th Arrived L. Prideaux & her daughter Sally in the way to Birmingham & staid till the 25th Immediately after their departure, Esther T, myself & cook maid removed to the new house & took possession of a two pair of stairs back room, experiencing what I expected, that by being on the spot with the workmen, I should feel less fatigued than in going over in such cold weather.

Twelfth Month 2nd The rest of the family joined us. On this morning I went in a coach to do some errands, & left Esther to spend the day in Temple Street, where little John appeared to me in a dying state, but they told me he was not worse than usual. I asked him if he was comfortable. He said "Yes," but afterwards said he longed to be in Heaven; & he looked as if Heaven was his home, & I had a hope he would soon go there.

6th to 11th Esther poorly. The widow Moore finishing her work, which she was very desirous of accomplishing, being truly grateful. In the interval Ann Crawley, was in Bristol—a greatly gifted minister.

13th The stove in the Meeting House lighted. About this time little Fred. Cookworthy was dangerously ill with watery brain, but contrary to expectation, he gradually recovered.

Once more am I spared to take a pen in hand to commemorate a departing year; but never did a departing year present me with such an affecting event—such an afflictive dispensation as the foregoing twelve months have produced.

Words are unequal to the occasion or to express what I feel. & O that I may be properly qualified to rejoice in hope looking to the time when,—

When I may meet my much loved friends above
Safe landed on the ever peaceful shore;
The blissful region of immortal love,
Where happiness & friendship part no more.

Time has made & seems making such rapid inroads in my mortal part the last three years, that I am apprehensive even this favourite employment of journalizing must give way.

1802

First mo. 1st Emma Berry, A. Binns & Fanny Pinnock dined with us.

5th Third-day In the evening I was at a meeting in Temple Street appointed for S. Lynes, & an extraordinary one it was. T. Pole was in town & often acceptably engaged.

10th First day, I attended both meetings—the latter public & much crowded. S. Lynes stood at it a long time, mentioning her own experience when she was a child of nine years old. On Third-day she preached for the last time, & left a very solemn impression on the minds of many—my brother & myself of the number. He (P.D.T.) dined with Esther & me (Hetty was at Frenchay) & again met us at F. Cookworthy's, where he had promised to give me some account of a visit he went reluctantly to pay a person in Queen Square. Esther & I went from F.C.'s to spend the evening at A. T. Adams' with S. Lynes; but she was so deaf that when I was removed from her to the supper table, there was pretty much an end of my enjoyment of her conversation, though the little I had of it was very agreeable; but it was so long since I had spent an evening out that I was exceedingly fatigued.

The 3 following weeks I had a very uncomfortable complaint in my head & could seldom get out.

31st On Esther's staying from evening meeting with me, I was comforted by observing the effect something I read to her about her mamma had upon her. The attachment I had discovered in anything relative to her gave me great pleasure.

2nd mo: 1st Second day. That this day completed my 60th year, much but not painfully occupied my mind.

2nd At meeting unexpectedly saw David Sands. On this day the enjoyable manner in which I passed the 11th anniversary presented itself, but passed enjoyments with dear deceased friends are seldom underrated. Of the four which then made up our little party; two were gone!

24th John Pince brought home Esther & staid supper. His conversation convinced me of what I had often heard my brother T. say of it in his relations of their occasional interviews when near neighbours, & so affected my mind as, I trust, in some measure, brought me under the same good influence which, I believe, was mostly prevalent in this simple hearted man's mind.

Patty Young was also this evening with us.

Third mo: At the beginning of this month Hetty & myself went to Bath to see H. & M. Davies; & their daughter who was come to England to visit them, lodged at the Christopher & returned home the next morning.

13th In the evening received the long expected & desirable account of the happy release of dear little John Pince. The next day two friends who had

been at Plymouth, came home from meeting to dine with us—Mary Birkbeck & her brother. After they were gone I went to see J. & M. Pince. I found them—the mother particularly—much affected, & was pleased to see Esther weep with them. The poor little body was at rest in the little crib at the same part of the room as usual. On Third day the 16th it was laid in Friar's Yard at the close of meeting. At the grave Ann Grace bore a pretty little Testimony to the children present.

On 5th day I drank tea with J. & M. Pince who appeared better, & though low, consolingly sensible of their dear little suffering boy's happy deliverance; which it was truly satisfactory to me to observe. I can truly say this child's removal was a subject of rejoicing to me. A few days before, went, with Emma, to take leave of Peggy Richards, who with her family was going back to live at Looe.

David Sands in town. E. Cookworthy spent 6th day with us. She was spending a little time with relations she had accompanied to Clifton. After dinner I walked with her to the Orphan Asylum; but I felt a great decrease of strength since the happy day I walked there the preceeding year. (2nd mo 2nd 1801) Between this & the 1st of 4th mo: Lydia Prideaux & Sally returned, whom E. Cookworthy seemed much pleased to meet, as she was to see E. Berry; & we all went the next day to drink tea with her & the Nicholsons at Clifton, first calling at John Tuckett's to see the poor children, with whom we left Esther—afterwards showed the strangers the grotto.

4th mo: 10th (?) 7th day Had an affecting interview with an afflicted injured wife, whom I sincerely compassionated—but was not able to give consolation. O what havoc sin makes in the world!

14th Went to Queen Square in a chair to see H. & M. Davies & walked to Dr. Fox's to see his wife &c. &c. &c. From this time L. Prideaux was distressingly though not alarmingly poorly, yet now & then able to visit.

22nd We spent at Frenchay with M. Dimsdale & John Fox.

25th Deborah Darby at meeting, where she prayed & afterwards preached, beginning with enumerating some of the blessings of which this favoured land had partaken in the last year. She then enlarged on the blessings of peace—said she believed the readiness with which so many had come forward to help the distressed was one cause why we had been so favoured. She addressed several states—the trading part—the youth—but neither to her subjects nor language can I do justice. Her periods flowed in harmonious numbers. While L.P. was visiting at Dr. Fox's. M. Dimsdale called & found me much depressed—a state which has often fallen to my lot during a period of 60 years; & as infirmities increase, more of suffering may reasonably be expected.

At such seasons as these, an interview with a friend to whom one can unreservedly communicate one's secret thoughts on the most important of all subjects is an inestimable privilege. Such I now, as at other seasons, have felt it; & I trust, frail as I feel myself I shall continue at times to be favoured with the animating hope of looking

Beyond time's bounded continent
The walls of sin & death.

28th L.P. little Sally, & Esther went with my brother to Frenchay. In her absence Hetty C. & myself drank tea with M. Pince at Cathay.¹³⁶ He was there in a house in which lived John Williams, who with his family was absent. 6th day L.P. &c. came back from Frenchay.

7th day. My brother brought James Curtis & P. Ransome to dinner. She was now living at Waddriff Smith's, who with his family was at Clifton.

First-day J. Helton was large on the subject of illuminations & public rejoicings.

Fifth Month 4th Peace was proclaimed. There was again an illumination in the evening, & again a house burnt down. Many hoped it might prove a discouragement in future, & teach the multitude a better way of manifesting their joy.

5th Lydia P. & her daughter Sally left us. John Fox & T. Pole came in unexpectedly to dinner. The former took his leave; the latter remained a welcome agreeable guest. F. Pinnock was very ill & E. Berry very poorly. Dr. Pole attended both & they gradually got better.

16th David Sands at meeting. Two or three days after I dined at M.D.'s. with my brother & sister Tuckett, Woodruff Smith, & J. Helton—Dr. Pole only just to dine. I had been very desirous to see & converse with T. W. Smith of whom I had heard so much. He appeared very much of the gentleman and sensible.

17th On this day Dr. Pole & two youngest daughters—very agreeable little girls—Rachel^{jjj} & Eliza^{kkk}—came to James Square. Their mother was left at Cheltenham till they were a little settled, her state of health being judged not equal to a bustle. The doctor continued our lodger though he was at home by day. By the time Esther, who had been poorly with ulcerated sore throat, was getting better, I found myself very unwell. On 6th day I was obliged to return to my bed, not being able to sit up, & was soon reduced to a considerable

^{jjj} Rachel became the wife of Nehemiah Duck (son of John Duck whose sudden death is recorded {above}) whom she survived some years. {J.F.}

^{kkk} Eliza married W. Temlett, and long survived him, is still (1871) living in Bristol. {J.F.}

state of weakness. I was carefully attended to by my kind Doctor, whose capability, as I believed, of sympathizing with the mind (though no words were dropped expressive of it) as well as bodily infirmities, was truly comfortable to me. On First day I was getting better & on 3rd day my brother & sister Tuckett came to dinner, which I thought of with pleasure, tho' not able to enjoy their company. I got into a state of debility, with other trying complaints which induced me to accept a very kind invitation from Cousin Dimsdale to spend a few nights at her house. During the time I spent there I received the most friendly attention. Whilst there I read a most affecting account in a letter from my sister E. Fox, which was brought me by S. Eady one morning whilst I was in bed. It informed me that John Tingham in a fit of derangement had put a period to his existence—a most distressing event for an affectionate wife & three children. They were a family of love, & their father had been a tender indulgent parent. Surely we meet with many, very many instances to prove on how sandy a foundation we build our hopes of happiness, if we look not beyond our present state for the completion of it. This distressing account of one for whom my husband had a sincere regard, & who had many years been his partner in the Bank, was to me a very painful subject of reflection. I left my dear cousin Dimsdale's much improved in health & spirits, soon after which I took a ride on a double horse as far as our good neighbour Lunell's lodgings & drank tea at Stapleton; but was too much tired to sleep. The next morning I went in a coach, in the rain, to Frenchay, where I spent three agreeable days with my Sister Tuckett. Esther & S. Wallis came over on 6th day, with whom I returned, much benefited though not so strong as before my illness—an illness of more consequence than any for a long time, having, I think, never before been confined to my bed a whole day since I was 24 years of age. This confinement had convinced me I had some valuable friends, who demonstrated their regard by their very kind attention.

Six Month 13th First-day. At meeting for the first time since my illness. It was held in the women's room on account of the other being cleaned.

2nd day Ann Hunt dined with us & communicated the affecting tidings of the removal of S. Stevenson in America. I remembered how freely she had given herself into the hands of her Lord before she embarked & now as he had seen fit to call her to glory, without the fatigue of crossing the seas in a weak frail, body, it is surely a favour to herself; for there are [none] who one can more safely pronounce to be of the number who are blessed—having died in the Lord. Few surely can be better qualified to sing the praises of that dear Redeemer whose faithful devoted servant she was while on earth.

The next day we had the company of Dr. Pole, his valuable wife, with two sons & three daughters. They appeared to be a family of love, & individually pleasing—the eldest a fine young man. I hope to be favoured with a more

intimate knowledge of E. Pole, as well as her worthy husband. George Champion came this evening to pay us a visit on his return from France & Holland. He returned to London on 6th day.

Third-day 15th M. Dimsdale & Ann spent the day with us and — Goodfellow (the husband of Ann G., the person with whom I had an interview with in York St). [see {above}] He was also in some measure convinced of our principles. He had given up preaching among John Wesley's people, where he had been, in the character of a minister, well received, & had, in the days of his worldly prosperity, built a Meeting House. They were about to leave Bristol in a few days. She had paid me one or two visits—very satisfactory to me; but she seemed much to regret leaving Bristol Meeting.

19th Elizth Prior called to take leave on going to London to meet an only & beloved brother. In the afternoon [we] drank tea at Dr. Pole's in the Summer House in the garden once our own. The more I see of this family the more I like them.

20th At meeting again in the morning which was silent, but where I hope I may thankfully say I was favoured with a degree of peace. At the conclusion an excellent Yearly Epistle was read by Arnee Frank. S.W., S.E., & Esther, returned in the evening from Hallen, where they went to spend the day & fetch S. Eady—they walked home.

A short time before we set out for Plymouth I wished to devote to my friend the widow Moore at our house (where she dined twice a week) believing I could give no one more pleasure by so doing, & seeing how much it pleased her. It was truly a gratification to me to hear her recite the occurrences of her youth. I thought it at least possible we might meet no more till we meet in that state where all earthly distinctions will be at an end.

25th Spent the afternoon (myself, Hetty T. & A. Bonville) at Pen Park, where we found the amiable mistress of it as cheerful as ever I remember to have seen her much enjoying the country & her little gold & silver fish, to one of which (that was much larger than the rest) she had given a name. He had at one time been in the pond alone, & had been so accustomed to her voice that he would follow it when called to any side of the pond where she moved; nor did the birds seem insensible of her approach, so much had she encouraged them. It was a very pleasant visit. Also visited my poor widow Harwood who was again reviving from having been very ill.

27th Before we left home I received an account that the body of J. Tingham ... was found near Sandycove. Affecting as this was, I think it was a sort of satisfaction as a crisis to a distressing state of suspense. First day Friars Meeting looked so clean & neat I could not help wishing the people who filled it, myself of the number, had a correspondent cleanness within; but I felt little else than restlessness—the subject of my intended journey much

occupying my weak mind, who viewed, & still view it, in a very affecting light.

30th We set out in a coach, Hetty C, Esther, S. Eady, & F. Pinnock. The former [latter?] we left at Taunton, & there being no beds to be had, we went on to Wellington & lodged at the Squirrel. We dined next day at the Hotel at Exeter, where we were obliged to stay till the morning, there being no horses, to be procured that day. We drank tea at J. Sanders's. We breakfasted at Chudleigh where I began to trace back my last journey to Plymouth. We drank tea at our once favourite spot Ivy Bridge. We were received [at Plymouth] at a little lodging provided for us at my request & pleasantly welcomed by my brother Fox, my sister E.F. & some of my nieces. The next morning many of our friends called to see us. On my first visit to Old town, I felt I was on the spot where I had sustained an irreparable loss, & glad I was when my first entrance into my brother Fox's hospitable abode was over. While we staid at our lodgings we spent most days in visiting our friends (except a few when I was confined with the rheumatism) but the weather, thro' the whole time, was so uncommonly cold & winterish, & the house we were in so dirty, that it was very uncomfortable. One affecting incident happened in this interval at the close of a visit to S. Fox, M. Hobson & S. Harrison, while the latter was gone to see a balloon with my family, S. Fox, on fetching something from her chamber, fell down stairs & broke her arm. I felt much alarmed but endeavoured to conceal it, & admired the fortitude of her behaviour; but her poor sister was exceedingly distressed, yet had before passed through the same with equal calmness. I staid till the bone was set & S. Harrison was come home. On the 27th of 7th mo: Sally Eady set out for Bristol. In the afternoon A. Bawden came to Plymouth with whom Esther was waiting to go to Looe, & it was settled for them to set out the next morning, but the weather proved unfavourable. We went this day in a carriage to Meeting, leaving our luggage at my bro: Fox's, & Hetty Champion, Esther & I returning to our lodgings where we spent a comfortable evening. The next morning, though the weather was still fluctuating, they set out A.B. on horseback with her husband, & Esther was accompanied in a chaise by John & Loyal Fox, who saw her safe. It was with pleasure I quitted our lodgings, taking leave of the poor mistress of it, whom I sincerely pitied, she being quite blind. She appeared patient & resigned. By dinner time we were settled at my brother Fox's where I felt very comfortable. The following First day I attended a Publick Meeting at Dock appointed by D. Darby & R. Byrd. It was, though crowded & intensely warm, very satisfactory. Another, on 3rd day, was held in the Assembly rooms in Plymouth—not full. Going there unfitted me for being at our own meeting the next day, at which was a wedding. I twice visited my afflicted friend Tingham. Our first meeting was truly trying; her grief was eloquent—in silence till tears relieved both her & myself. Most sincerely did I

sympathize with her under her heavy affliction; but she had comforts in her children. The eldest girl seemed very affectionate & grieved much. Her sister & she appeared uncommonly attached to each other. Since I had been last at Plymouth, Francis & S. Fox had a little daughter, now about 8 months old, & one of the finest children I ever saw.

2nd day went to Dock to meet my dear Esther but she came not till after my return to Plymouth when I was rejoiced once more to see her. We set out the next morning in very warm weather, & were favoured to reach home, after sleeping at Exeter & Taunton on the 19th of Eighth Month. We all, I believe, felt truly comfortable, when we got into our pretty little parlour, & lay down in our own separate apartments.

7th day my brother Tuckett dined with us, whom we were the more glad to meet because we were afraid they would be set out for Alton before our return. Esther's joy occasioned the starting tear, & her foolish aunt could not forbear feeling herself affected at the sight. Sarah Lynes was at the next morning meeting & both preached & prayed excellently. From hence she went into Wales in her way to Ireland.

3rd day drank tea with Sally Tuckett at her brother's in Ashley Place, to which they had lately removed from Clifton, & Sally was come to keep his house & take care of the poor children. On my return I found James Fox Jun. at home, whom Hetty C. had staid to receive. He staid a few days & then went on to Birmingham. The following day as I was drinking tea at Aunt Berry's a note was brought me from my brother T. that his wife had received an affecting letter with an account that her sister May had lost an engaging little girl about 4 years old by an accident. The dear little creature had been to take leave of a Friend & was crossing the road (a servant with her) when she was run over by a stage coach. She expired immediately so that it proved an easy passage to heaven. Her tender parents, tho' exceeding affected, were favoured with support under this heavy trial.

26th At the burial of the wife of Edward Stephens at which S. Tuckett preached excellently. 1st day at the morning meeting, W^m Jepson stood long & was excellent on doctrine. E. Sanders of Exeter dined with us. Betsy Harford came to tea.

30th Went to Frenchay on horseback, intending to return to dinner; but was by the kindness of my sister T. prevailed on to stay till evening. The weather was remarkably fine & as I sat by the side of the pond in the garden, observing my brother amusing his sweet little boy, who was sitting on his agreeable mother's lap, I thought his lot seemed to be cast in a "South Land;" for that everything this world could bestow was his favoured portion. & whilst I felt a desire for the continuance of these blessings I thought I was right in believing that he had hitherto been preserved in humility &

thankfulness. He brought me home after tea, & the next morning they set out for Alton.

9th mo. 7th Third day W^m Jepson preached admirably on the query "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" He expatiated on Peter's saying, "Now I know that God is no respecter of persons." He preached again on 6th day.

7th day Spent half an hour with M. D[imsdale] on her return from Devon. First-day W^m Jepson in the morning & again on third-day. In my way to drink tea with Anna Fry; I called to see the panorama of London. I seldom find amusement in any sight but that which affords relative pleasure. An association of ideas was therefore necessary to produce enjoyment in anything I saw. On this occasion, for instance, it was chiefly to that part of London which exhibited a view of Black Friars' Bridge; because I could see the porch of the door from the Leverian Museum, from whence Esther & I walked to Pauls C. Yard.

7th day Met at T. Bonville's with Betsy Ring, a deserving sensible, agreeable woman, eloquently pleading the cause of a destitute orphan. First day morning, W. Jepson on regeneration the preceeding evening at Dr. Poles from 9 till 10 o'clock, surveying the eclipse of the moon through a good telescope. It was very interesting, but I found my own powers of nature so much weakened as to obscure the beautiful view of outward nature, & oblige me to withdraw, as I could not bear the cold.

14th 3rd day Spent at M. Dimsdale's to which I went on horseback round the down.

15th Quarterly Meeting. First day W. Jepson excellent on the government of the tongue. Fifth day on horseback to Frenchay to spend the day, in the course of which I felt that I sincerely loved the amiable mistress of the family. My brother brought me home to drink tea at F. Cookworthy's with Emma Berry.

24th After meeting were interred at Redclift Yard the remains of H. Fudger, who was suddenly released from her trials the preceeding 7th day at her daughter Hingstons. It was to me an opportunity unusually solemn in which my mind was measurably loosened from earth, & with I trust, a humble hope of attaining to a better inheritance when my perishable body shall return to the dust I was thankful I went there.

27th 2nd day Hetty C. & myself went to the Penitentiary¹³⁷ with which we were much pleased. The next afternoon we spent at H. Rutter's where I many ways felt for Rachel Mutter, who was in excellent spirits & did not seem at all disposed to feel in a similar manner. I recollected my own state in early life & felt sincere desires for her welfare. She was in a few months to

be married to Z. Fry.^{III} G. Withy came home with us & spent the evening, & the next afternoon met us at his mother's where we drank tea after calling on Nancy Long.

30th 5th day Aunt Berry & all her family drank tea with us. She was then very near completing her 93rd year & walked here—had a goodnight afterwards.^{mmmm}

Tenth Month. 4th day spent comfortably with my friend Geo: Withy part of the morning, who accompanied me from his own house to the poor widow Moore's. He also expressed satisfaction at the time passed together. The widow Duck dined with us whom I wished to be able to serve. G. Withy spent the next evening with us. First day On coming home after calling on J. Bengough, found M. Dimsdale & Patty Young there in particular conversation. The latter staid with me at evening meeting time. 2nd day an agreeable couple from Clifton, acquaintance of Hetty C's friends, drank tea with us—their names Eagles. 3rd day Esther drank tea with me at G. Withy's. 5th spent an agreeable afternoon with Mary Mills. The next M. Dimesdale here & John Birtell¹³⁸ called. 22nd Edward Jeff buried. The day before we spent the afternoon at George Eaton's, Redclift Parade; his wife was in a very poor state of health.ⁿⁿⁿ

31st Attended from H. Rutter's the remains of John Holbro' (who died there the 3rd day) a large company assembled, some of whom seemed to feel the loss of a valued friend. In the meeting Dr. Pole delivered an excellent Testimony. At the grave Mary Dudley said a few words expressive of her belief of the happiness of the deceased.

Eleventh Month 17. I visited my two favourite widows, as I thought, when a little leisure occurred, I could no where give more pleasure. S. Moore seemed very fast declining.

18th 5th day Esther & myself went in a chaise to Frenchay in the morning & returned home in the evening in the stage with H. Rutter. My young companion seemed poorly at Frenchay & she subsequently became seriously ill—every part disordered & the fever high. With all my efforts I seemed unable to bear her sufferings. Once on her asking S.W. why her Heavenly Father was more in her thoughts at this time than usual, she replied because

^{III} Son of Robert Fry & grandson of Zephaniah Fry, both mentioned in preceeding pages of these extracts. {J.F.}

^{mmmm} 2nd mo yr 1803 She was released from a state of suffering, being 94 years old. She had long been distressingly complaining; but a little before the solemn close was favoured with true peace. The next First day after attending the funeral, I spent the remainder of the day comfortably with the family. {SCF}

ⁿⁿⁿ She went in the winter of 1804 to visit her friends in Cornwall to try her own air, but closed her life in the 11th month. {SCF}

she had never before wanted so much support. The dear sufferer then said she knew her Heavenly Father could take her when He pleased—even tomorrow; & then she should go to her dear Mamma who now had neither pain nor sorrow. When I heard this I thought she was going. By the 4th of 12th month, however, she was so much better as to be able to sit up two hours. Her father frequently came & paid her very affectionate attention & my sister T. as much as was possible from her situation. H. Stevenson paid her one visit. She approached her bedside with an enumeration of the comforts with which she was surrounded under her present trial, which, she observed, called for thankfulness to the great source of good; & that her heavenly Father, if he saw fit to remove her would, she had sweetly to believe, receive her into that blessed state where there is no sorrow—or pain—adding, “I do not my dear know that it will be so” She said more, but the above was the principal part. She concluded with saying how much she had always loved her, & at this season had a particular desire to see her. She then bade us both an affectionate farewell.

19th (12th mo) I had the pleasure of once more seeing my dear Esther in the breakfast room after a confinement of 4 weeks to her chamber. During Esther’s confinement but when she was mending, I went (on the 13th) to take tea at Dr. Pole’s with David Sands & on the 18th Emma informed me of the removal of Thomas Melhuish. With the loss of such a friend she appeared much affected.

First day evening (the 19th) received an account from Frenchay, that my sister T. was safely confined with a second son (Francis) & that both were doing well.

25th Our usual anniversary of feeding the hungry an inestimable favour, & a desire was raised in my heart that I might be qualified to do it more for the sake of Him who hath said “Forasmuch as ye do it to the least of these my brethren, ye do it unto me;” not confining my views to affording present gratification to my distressed fellow creatures, for whom at most, I can do but little, & I often fear, do less than I ought. For I am apprehensive we take more for our own use, than as stewards, we have right to do. We should surely confine ourselves to the comforts of life. To be favoured with ability to procure these is indeed a blessing which ought to excite gratitude, in our hearts to the great Giver of every good gift. & O that from the Almighty Dispenser I may be favoured more & more with a disposition to be “willing to distribute, ready to communicate” to those who stand in need of help. About a week before (the 18th) I paid the poor widow Moore a visit. I found her very ill, though still down stairs. She was anxious about my dear Esther for whom she had long had a tender regard. On my leaving her she earnestly prayed that the Almighty would be pleased to shower down upon me & mine the choicest of his blessings. I left her with a heart deeply penetrated with

her grateful piety, sincerely desiring her support thro' the short remainder of her pilgrimage.

(Note by S. Fox. She lived only till the 23rd of 1st mo: 1803. Two days before her last I took Esther to see her (after paying a visit to Betsy Duck on the removal of her daughter Amelia) which seemed to give the poor old woman pleasure. Tho' not yet confined to her chamber, her looks were much altered. On 1st day morning, before I had quitted my bed, she sent for Hetty & myself. We found her in a dying state, but perfectly sensible. I staid with her till 11 o' clock, & on taking a final leave of each other, in this world, she repeated her blessings. In about an hour she expired, & I have no doubt but she was received into bliss.)

I had also once after E's illness, visited the poor widow Harwood whose head was very poorly, but I hoped, after all her sufferings, she would be preserved from the greatest of all human maladies.

(Note by S. Fox. Notwithstanding all her infirmities, she lived, to the surprise of every-body who knew her, till the first day of the year 1805, when she was delivered from a state of uncommon sufferings which she had borne with exemplary patience & resignation, even under the pressure of extreme lowness, bodily pains, & a state of absolute poverty depending on the parish & her friends for daily bread—or, I should rather say, she was dependent on her Heavenly Benefactor, who amply supplied her daily wants both spiritual & temporal; & has I trust admitted her to join the just of all generations in celebrating her great Deliverer's praise. Long had she anticipated this glorious day, & O that her prayers to meet me in glory may be answered. What an inestimable favour it is to be able to afford a little assistance to the sick & aged, particularly to the children of the family.) I must now go a little back.

23rd I particularly enjoyed the company of my brother T. who dined with us, & whose affectionate attention to his sick daughter—now so much recovered, had been very grateful to me, & the more so as I had again a prospect of her surviving me in a world where she is so poorly qualified to be her own conductor. She will, I doubt not, find a kind maternal friend in my sister Tuckett.

27th Holdenay brought poor little Minny for the day; he died soon after. If I deserve blame for this commemoration, be it recollected that the last words which my husband said on leaving home were in accents of kindness to this little dog.

28th Hetty C. & myself went by appointment, to drink tea with our neighbour Bengough. On entering the tea-room, we found Anna Goldney standing by her endeavouring to administer consolation under some heavy affliction, & soon learned that an account had been received of the sudden removal of an

only & beloved brother, though she had not yet been told that the closing scene was passed. I said little—all in my power was tender sympathy & sincere desire for her support. We left her at 7 o' clock more composed. We had left Patty Young to drink tea with Esther when [her] husband coming to fetch her, & informing her of one of his brother's having procured a desirable situation, her spirits were quite overpowered by the pleasure it gave her. This young woman's amiable disposition, with her readiness to assist the distressed, & her capability of sympathizing with such who were afflicted, had gained her the love of many.

29th I this morning, as had been my custom when able, accompanied my kind friend Emma Berry to Market. She was going the next day to Taunton to spend a little time with the ancient widow of her lately deceased friend Thos: Melhuish. In the afternoon she called to take leave. I parted from her with sincere desires that the journey might improve her health & spirits. I had long been in habits of intimacy with both sisters [E.B^m & F. Pinnock] & very frequent intercourse, though often not mentioned in this volume. There are also several visits which called forth sympathy omitted, to my old afflicted friend Anna Fry.^{ooo}

The frequent intercourse I had with Dr. Pole, his wife & family, as well as my frequent visits to the Summer House & garden, once our own, greatly added to my comfort as I found both the doctor & his wife truly religious valuable, & kind neighbours, & as parents, ruling their family well—not with a rod of iron, but by affection. For though early trained to habits of obedience, they were uncommonly attached to both father & mother, who though themselves of different dispositions from each other, took care to go hand in hand on every thing which respected their children, who were well deserving their love. The eldest, a fine youth of 18, sensible & scientific the next an agreeable girl a year younger, besides^{ppp} another son & 2 little girls at school.

^{ooo} She lived only till the 19th of the 2nd month 1803, after about six weeks confinement to her chamber & mostly her bed. No new symptoms appeared. {SCF}

^{ppp} [Note By S. Fox.] He was removed the 19th of 11th month 1803 by a fever, & was as generally lamented as he was deservedly admired & beloved. In my frequent visits to the survivors, my tender sympathy was excited, which appeared to be the case with very many of their friends on this affecting occasion. His remains were interred in Friars Yard on the following First day borne to the grave from the meeting by 6 young men, most of whom were his intimate associates.

The meeting proved solemnly affecting the particulars of which I have taken down in a little book where are many parts of Testimonies & nearly the whole of the poor father's who, though enabled to say, "The Lord gave & the Lord hath taken away" was very unwell.

Conclusion

Sixth day evening, the last day of the year, & within about one month of sixty-one years of age—able to recollect some events which happened 58 years ago—particularly the birth of my long lost friend, to speak in the language of man, Sukey Rogers. But when memory is suffered to trace back past events, such a group of valued associates present to my view that, till the veil of mortality is with-drawn, it may be best that a mind like mine, should endeavour to shut the door, in some measure, though to such beloved guests. Enough for me that those with whose happiness mine was—may I not say is interwoven, are safely sheltered under Emanuel's wing—and that in a few uncertain moments (even while my beloved brother is reading these lines) I shall be, if not my own fault reunited with them for ever!

I think it is now time to put an end to this journal, as advanced age & increased infirmities have, in my own opinion, disqualified me for its continuance—never having so forcibly felt the truth of the wise man's assertion that "there is nothing new under the sun;" & that I can generally now only express the same sentiments & feelings—and perhaps nearly in the same words.

I shall therefore, except any thing very impressive should occur in the probably short remainder of my life, take my leave of this employment—once a very favourite one & I hope not wholly unprofitable; & endeavour as the "world recedes" to withdraw my views & affections, measurably from it—waiting I humbly hope, for better qualifications than I now possess, for my final change. Though my pilgrimage has been at times very painful from distressing occurrences in the lives of some I loved many have been at other times the comforts I have received from their society, & I have been favoured to be able to number among my best & most profitable hours, those passed in the school of affliction. As to outward possessions, many have been the occasions on which I have had to remark that it is neither from riches nor poverty, or even from the so much talked of mediocrity we derive our enjoyments. But we are & ever must be, either more happy or miserable as we are nearer or more distant from the only the inexhaustible source of felicity; & that tho' "no chastening for the present seems joyous but grievous, nevertheless it yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness to those that are exercised thereby."

"When our warfare shall be accomplished, our views enlarged, & our light increased, with what transports of adoration & love shall we look back. We shall then see & acknowledge, that mercy & goodness overshadowed us. We shall then see what our ignorance once called evils were in reality blessings which we could not have done well without—that nothing befel us without a cause in a word that all our afflictions were, each in its place, among the means employed by divine grace & wisdom, to bring us to the possession of

an exceeding & eternal weight of glory." Nor ought I to forget the mercies received in a cessation pretty generally of late, from outward trials, as well as the great favour of surrounding comforts. But above all it is my ardent desire, that I may be so prepared for the awful hour of dissolution as to be enabled to say "O death where is thy sting O! grave where is thy victory." "The sting of death is sin, but thanks be to God who giveth us the victory thro' our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ." & if such be our experience, we shall, I trust, & fully believe, my dear brother, & much loved friend, be permitted to meet with those now in the body, as well as those gone before us, & together joyfully celebrate the high praises of the Lord God & the Lamb for ever—through the boundless ages of immortality—Amen.

Sarah Fox.

Obituary Notice of Sarah Fox

On the 11th inst. in the 70th year of her age, died at her house in Brunswick Square, Sarah Fox of the Society of Friends, & relict of Charles Fox late of James's Square, formerly Banker at Plymouth, whose philanthropic exertions in this City, with many virtues, tendered his life valuable & his death lamented. His justly esteemed widow, like himself, possessed from early life a mind highly cultivated by education, extensive reading, & intercourse with the enlightened & pious of various denominations.

All who enjoyed the pleasure of her cheerful, as well as instructive, society, will acknowledge that in her, the characters of the Christian & gentlewoman were exhibited with peculiar gracefulness. Her charities were bounded only by the extent of her fortune: they were bestowed, without a shadow of ostentation, on numerous private objects whose sufferings came to her knowledge, & claimed her benevolence & sympathy; the many who participated in her liberality will long have cause to lament the loss of so hospitable a benefactress. The society of which she was a member, & by which she was most deservedly beloved as a bright example of the beneficial influence of unfeigned religion, will sustain a loss only to be compensated by that Omnipotent Being, who alone can confer the same important blessings on whom He may choose to fill her vacant seat with an equal degree of Christian dignity. During the progressive increase of the disease which terminated her valuable life, she exhibited to the peaceful close of all terrestrial scenes, an example of the most perfect patience & cheerful acquiescence to [sic] the sovereign will of her Supreme Creator.

Public Advertiser Nov. 14 1811

The above is stated (I think in Owen's "Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol" lately published) to have been written by Dr. Pole & its peculiar style agrees with the statement. In the same work there is a silhouette of Sarah Fox & a fac-simile of her signature.^{qqq}

(Copy A. I. N.).

John Frank

NOTES

¹ Elizabeth Rogers (1714-1745) married Joseph Champion in 1740. Their three children were Sarah, Richard (1741-1791), whose life is described in the introduction to this edition, and Esther (1745-1798), sometimes referred to as 'Hetty'. Sarah also had a half brother, Joseph, who was born in 1753 to her father's second wife, Elizabeth Wright. I am indebted to Roger Angerson who kindly sent me a copy of the genealogy of the Champion family, which he personally compiled.

² Sarah's father Joseph Champion was a soapboiler and became a merchant quitting Bristol for Islington, London and leaving the Society of Friends.

³ This was Sarah's maternal grandmother, later referred to as Grandmother Rogers.

⁴ Between Bath and Bristol.

⁵ It is not clear if SCF is referring to a village just outside Bristol, Westbury-on-Trym, or Westbury-on-Severn, Glos., or the Wiltshire village of Westbury.

⁶ The Rogers family were an important Quaker family in Frenchay, a village just to the north of Bristol.

⁷ Sarah Champion Lloyd (1712-1798) and Joseph Champion (SCF's father) were the only children of Ester {sic} Palmer (1674-1714) and Richard Champion (1680-1714). However, Richard Champion had also had 3 children by his first wife Sarah Finney (d.c. 1705), two of whom, Nehemiah and Joseph, survived until 1766 and were referred to by SCF as her uncles. Angerson, 'Champion Family Tree'.

⁸ Francis Rogers appears to have been one of Francis Rogers who are listed as 'soapboilers and shipowners'. This particular Francis Rogers was admitted to the Society of Merchant Venturers in 1748 according to <http://www.rootsweb.com/~atgwgw/resources/mvlist4.html> and was part-owner of two slave ships, the *Tryall* (1756) and the *Roebuck* (1760) according to David Richardson, *Bristol, African and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America*, Vol. 3., (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1991), B.R.S. vol. XLII, pp. 107 and 138).

⁹ As stated in endnote 7, this uncle (Nehemiah) (1703-1766) was the half brother of Sarah's father Richard. He was a wealthy Bristol merchant with interests in the 'Africa' trade.

¹⁰ According to the British Library Catalogue, the book referred to seems to *Piety Promoted, in brief memorials of the virtuous lives, services, and dying sayings, of some of the people called Quakers, formerly published in eight parts, by J. Tomkins and others (J. Field, J. Bell, and T. Wagstaffe), now revised by J. Kendal, and placed in the order of time*. A new edition. (Piety Promoted ... the ninth part ... by T. Wagstaffe. Second edition. - Piety Promoted ... the tenth part ... by J{oseph}. G{urney}. Bevan.) 5 vol. London, 1789-1810. 12o. According to the DQB, Ester Palmer was born in Long Island. She travelled as a minister with a series of

^{qqq} A copy of the silhouette is reproduced at the end of this volume, and appeared in Edmund Tolson Wedmore, 'Thomas Pole, MD' published for *Friends' Historical Society, Journal Supplement No. 7* (London: Headley Brothers, 1908). {M.D.}

other Quaker women through New England, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina, staying in Philadelphia (A Quaker stronghold) twice before going onto England in 1710.

¹¹ David Garrick (1717-1779) actor, manager and playwright who was part-owner of the Drury Lane Theatre in London and was also involved with the Theatres Royal in Bristol and Bath. He was an intimate of Hannah More, herself later a friend of Sarah Champion Fox.

¹² A Mrs. Lloyd is listed as the resident of a great house in Stoke Bishop then 2 miles north West of Bristol in Donne's *Map of the country 11 miles around the city of Bristol*, Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery.

¹³ This aunt was Sarah Champion, the half-sister of Joseph Champion, the full sister of Nehemiah and the daughter of Richard Champion (1680-1714) by his first wife Sarah Finney (d. 1705). Angerson, 'Champion Family Tree'.

¹⁴ Samuel Neale, 1729-1792. According to Nini Rogers, 'Two Quakers and a Utilitarian: three Women Writers' Reactions to Slavery 1789-1807 in *Proceedings of the Irish Academy*, Vol. 100C, (2000), p. 143, accessible at

<http://www.ria.ie/publications/journals/ProcCI/2000/PC00/PDF/100004CI.pdf>, Samuel Neale was a graduate of Ballitore, an Irish boarding school founded by the Quaker Abraham Shackleton, a friend of Anthony Benezet. Neale became a Quaker minister who worked in Ireland and later visited America where he met Benezet. Benezet asked Neale to carry some advice to Shackleton regarding the anti-slave trade campaign. Neale married Mary Peisley ((1717-1757) who before her marriage had travelled throughout America as a Quaker and whose *Life and Religious Exercises of Mary Neale, Formerly Mary Peisley* was published in Philadelphia by Joseph Cruikshank in 1796. Samuel's memoirs were also published as, *The Life and Religious Labours of Samuel Neale* (Philadelphia :P. Parke, 1806). See DQB and <http://www.sgm.org/history/quakerbooks.html>. Letters from both Samuel and Mary are in the collection at Haverford College in Pennsylvania, U.S.A. See www.haverford.edu/library/special/aids/englishfrds/ -. For his welcome to Bristol's Quaker meeting in 1778, see BRO, SF/A1/13, 477.

¹⁵ Joseph Fry (1727/8-1787?). Fry was born in Sutton Benger in Wiltshire which had a long-established Quaker community. In the 1750s, after being apprenticed to an apothecary in Basingtoke, he came to Bristol, having married his master's daughter, Anna Portsmouth, to practice medicine. He soon became involved in the manufacture of chocolate soon after, taking over the established chocolate firm of Churchman, and under him and his son Joseph Storrs Fry (1767-1735), Fry's Chocolate became a leading British firm. Joseph Fry Sr. had other diverse industrial interests which were of national importance. He was prominent among the city's soapboilers along with Samuel and/or William Fripp who were members of the Moravian Church and this firm later fed into the Lever Brothers. His interest in chemistry led him to form a partnership with a London Quaker chemist to produce soda and alkali at Battersea. He later used his knowledge to help Richard Champion to produce porcelain and was also partner to the Bristol printer William Pine, the two making notable contributions to creation of type faces. DQB, David H. Pratt, *English Quakers and the First Industrial Revolution: a study of the Quaker community in four industrial counties - Lancashire, York, Warwick, and Gloucester, 1750-1830*, p. 65.

¹⁶ Shurmer Bath, the son of a Barbados planter, was himself a maltster and life-long member of the Bristol Meeting of the Society of Friends. See for example, BRO, JF/A10/1a; David Pratt, *English Quakers*, p. 122.

¹⁷ William Law (1686-1761) was an Anglican mystic himself influenced by the mystic Jacob Boehme 1575-1612 . Boehme also known as Behmen, had influenced the early Quakers with and Isaac Newton. In turn, Law was said to have greatly influenced John Wesley and Dr. Johnson especially by his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* written in 1729.

¹⁸ Lawrence Weston is now part of Bristol.

¹⁹ Mark Harford Jr. is listed in the 'merchants and bankers' section of *Sketchley's Bristol Directory {of} 1775* (Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1971) as living at 2 King Square, his father

is listed as a banker. Either Mark Harford Jr. or his father invested £1500 in Richard Champion's china company, according to Hugh Owen, *Two Centuries of Ceramic Art in Bristol*, p. 387.

²⁰ William Cookworthy (1705-1780) porcelain manufacturer and chemist. The first British manufacturer of hard paste porcelain and the discoverer of kaolin deposits in Cornwall. Cookworthy hosted Captain Cook, the botanists Joseph Banks, and Daniel Solander (a Dane) before their first world voyage and later hosted the Tahitian 'prince' Omai who had returned with Banks. Cookworthy was described by his grandson as a good friend of Sarah and Richard Champion's sister Esther in 1773 before her marriage. In 1774 Cookworthy transferred his Plymouth porcelain factory to Bristol in 1774 placing it under the Richard Champion's management. See *DNB*; *DQB*; *CDB*; [Geo. Harrison] *Memoir of William Cookworthy formerly of Plymouth Devonshire by His Grandson*, (London: William and Frederick Cash, Edinburgh: John Menzies, Dublin: J.M'Glashen-J.B. Gilpin, 1854) p. 48 and p. 80. Around the time that Sarah Champion met Cookworthy, he had fallen under the influence of Emanuel Swedenborg and was instrumental in translating two of the mystic's works into English: Cyriel Sigstedf, *The Swedenborg Epic*

<http://www.swedenborgdigitallibrary.org/ES/epic40.htm>, accessed 22 Dec. 2002. See also Selleck, Albert Douglas. *Cookworthy (1705-80) and his circle*, (Baron Jay, 1978). Penderill-Church, John. *William Cookworthy, 1705-1780*, (Bradford Barton, 1972).

²¹ The Hardwicke Marriage Act of 1753 forbidding the marriage of minors without parental consent did not apply in Scotland.

²² A.R. Hawsworth was Abraham Richard Hawsworth (1729-1768), a Bristol member of the Society of Friends and in 1766 elected treasurer to the Bristol Royal Infirmary. According to his contemporary, the Bristol Methodist, William Dyer, he spoke seven languages and 'was much admired for his eloquence'. *DQB*.

²³ Samuel Emlen (1729/30-1799) Quaker minister from Philadelphia who visited the Southern colonies in North America and came to Britain and Ireland in 1756 when he first 'spoke in the ministry'. A close associate of Samuel Neale, he travelled extensively in Europe speaking a number of modern and ancient languages. In 1756 he had accompanied Mary Peisley, Samuel Fothergill and Catharine Peyton all newly returned from America through Ireland. His sons Samuel and William were both born in Bristol in 1770 and 1761 respectively. *DQB*.

²⁴ Elizabeth Emlen née Moode was of Philadelphia.

²⁵ The Dickinson (or Dickenson) family were an old Bristol family who were now landowners but who still retained interests in the Bristol sugar business. A Caleb Dickinson had received a land grant of 6000 acres in Jamaica reportedly for services rendered in the conquest of Jamaica in 1655. The Vickris referred to here is probably the son of the Caleb Dickinson who died in 1779 had three sons: Vickris, Caleb and Ezekiel and a daughter Margaret who married into the Goldney family. Vickris Dickinson still owned over 200 acres and over 200 slaves as part of the Barton plantation in Jamaica at the end of the eighteenth century. SRO, Dickinson papers DD/DN no. 465-479.; also see http://www.bromfield.us/gen_property/JA_Prop09.htm.

²⁶ Thomas Frank was the son of Thomas Frank Sr. a Quaker who was proprietor of the Brislington pottery c. 1697 and who established a Pottery on Redcliffe back in 1706. Thomas Frank Jr. was also a Quaker and a merchant and the father of Arnee Frank a pin manufacturer. See David Pratt, *English Quakers*, p. 122; W.J. Pountney, *Old Bristol Potteries*, (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1920, Wakefield, Yorkshire: EP Publishing Ltd., 1970), p. 155.

²⁷ Old Market was Bristol's old commercial district and bordered the Castle Green area where Champion would later have his porcelain factory. See W.J. Pountney, *Old Bristol Potteries*, map facing p. 358.

²⁸ Possibly the subject of Frances Henshaw Paxton Dodshon's, *Some Account of the Convincement and Religious Experience of Frances Dodshon, Late of Macclesfield* (Warrington: W. Leicester, 1803).

²⁹ George Whitefield, (1714-1770) one of the foremost figures of the Evangelical religious revival in Britain and a founder of Methodism. This Gloucester-born Anglican deacon was often in Bristol, initially working closely with John Wesley both in Georgia in 1738 and in Bristol soon after. He split with John Wesley (c. 1741) because of his adherence to a Calvinistic belief in the predestination of souls whereas Wesley was an Arminian and felt all could be saved if their conversion to a faith in Christ was genuine. Noted for his eloquence, Whitefield gathered huge audiences wherever he preached. He was the chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon and travelled extensively throughout the British Isles and also preached in Bermuda, Gibraltar and the American colonies which last he visited seven times. Whitefield left England for the last time in 1769 and died in Boston the following year. *CDB*, *DNB*. It seems clear that Whitefield's enthusiasm did not sit well with the more self-contained SCF.

³⁰ John Wesley, (1703-1791) the Anglican minister who led the evangelical revival of 1739, and founded what was later to be known as Wesleyan Methodism. He was an enormously important influence on British culture. His Bristol headquarters, John Wesley New Room, still survives as a chapel and museum in Bristol.

³¹ Samuel Fothergill, (1717-1772) a well-known Quaker Minister, was a member of the Philadelphia meeting but lived in Bristol. In 1754 he seems to have gone to America but was back in Ireland by 1756 when he travelled in Ireland in the company of Samuel Neale, Mary Peisley *et alii*. His sermon 'A Garden Enclosed is my sister, my spouse' delivered in 1767 at the Frenchay Quarterly meeting was published in Fothergill, Samuel. *Eleven Discourses Delivered Extempore, at Several Meeting-Houses of the People Called Quakers. Mostly Taken Down In Characters, by a Member of the Church of England*. (Wilmington: Coale and Rumford, 1817). Re his voyage to America in 1754, see the entry on John Churchman from the Friends House in London at:

http://www.churchman.org/2John_Article.htm.

³² This of course predates Edward Jenner's inoculations against smallpox in 1796-8. Intriguingly Edward Jenner had been apprenticed to a Bristol apothecary named Daniel Ludlow, possibly a relation to Abraham Ludlow? See 'Smallpox: an on-line exhibit' staged at the University of California at Los Angeles biomedical library at:

<http://www.library.ucla.edu/libraries/biomed/smallpox/jenner.html>. Abraham Ludlow is listed as an M.D. in *Sketchley's Bristol Directory of 1777* (Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1971).

³³ She was the daughter of Samuel Waring Esq. of Alton, Hants. And her obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 17 Dec. 1788 described her life as of 'self-denial amidst an affluent fortune, in order to supply more liberally the wants of others'. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (1788) cited in 'Obituary of Lydia Hawksworth', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, vol. 16 (1919), pp. 117-118.

³⁴ Sarah Farley (d. 1774) the niece of Samuel Farley inherited from him the proprietorship of *The Bristol Journal* in 1753 on condition that she remained a Quaker. His brother, a Methodist, also died in 1753 and passed on the other Bristol newspaper *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* to his wife, Elizabeth, Sarah's aunt. Both women were active as newspaper editors. As John Penny, a well-known local historian, relates: 'Sarah Farley bequeathed the Bristol Journal to Hester Farley, daughter of Felix Farley whose widow Elizabeth was still running the rival Felix Farley's Bristol Journal!' Hester sold on her interest in 1775. See <http://www.fishponds.freeuk.com/>; John Penny, *All the News That's Fit to Print* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association Pamphlet, 2001), p. 8; Bristol Public Libraries, *early Bristol Newspapers: a detailed catalogue of Bristol newspapers published up to and including the year 1800 in the Bristol Reference Library*, (Bristol: Corporation of Bristol, 1956), 18.

³⁵ Samuel Peach was a Bristol merchant and banker with slaving interests. See my *Slavery Obscured: the social history of the slave trade in an English provincial slaving port* (London: Continuum Books, 2001), pp. 115 and 127n.

³⁶ Hannah More (1745-1833) who was also a friend of Edmund Burke and William Garrick, was a well known playwright before her Evangelicalism turned her towards philanthropy and mission work. In the late 1770s, she was partner to her sisters who ran a boarding school for girls in Park Street in the city. She later became a leading abolitionist and educational reformer, though she grew increasingly conservative after the French Revolution, when her evangelical tracts and popular moral tales made her one of the most highly paid women writers of her day. *CBD*, *DNB*, Janet Todd (ed.) *Dictionary of British Women Writers*, (London: Routledge, 1987), pp. 224-227. M. J. Crossley-Evans, *Hannah More*, (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1999), no. 99, esp. pp. 5-15.

³⁷ Probably Ranelagh Tea Gardens in London. This Pleasure garden rivalled that of Vauxhall. 'Ranelagh Gardens was situated where the annual Chelsea Flower Show is now held. The gardens contained a boating canal, a Chinese pavilion, and a central, domed rotunda. In 1765, the nine-year-old Mozart performed there.' Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People: England 1727-1783*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1992) pp. 101, 575, 601. See also http://www.twinnings.com/en_gb/history_tradition/coffeehouse.html.

³⁸ Jonathan Binns (1743-1829) was related to the Tucketts and was a merchant of E. Looe in Cornwall. *DQB*.

³⁹ Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was M.P. for Bristol 1774-1780 replacing Robert Nugent (Lord Clare) as Whig candidate. Richard Champion was one of his four most important Bristol friends, described as 'Burke's alter ego' between the years 1774-1780. See P.T. Underdown, 'Burke's Bristol Friends', *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 77, (1958), esp. pp. 127-135; *CBD*.

⁴⁰ According to John Frank, Burke commissioned Champion to make him a tea service to give as a present to J. Smith's wife to thank them both for their hospitality. The service was in the possession of Joseph Smith's daughter Marianne Smith of Bristol and the aunt of Sir Arthur Hallam Elton of Clevedon in 1872. Champion also presented Burke's wife Jane with a tea set. See John Frank, 'Extracts from the diary of Sarah Fox of Bristol' in *The Friend*, 1 April 1874, pp. 72-73 and Underdown, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

⁴¹ Thomas Farr came from a family of rope manufacturers, shop owners and slave traders but had by the 1760s become genteel enough to purchase a country house and build for himself a folly called Blaise Castle. His brother was Paul Farr. Both were Merchant Venturers and Paul was an especially close associate of Edmund Burke and Richard Champion. Underdown states it is he who owned Blaise, but its ownership is commonly attributed to Thomas Farr. The Farris were soon to become bankrupt as a result of the war with America and his estate was sold to John Scandret Harford. See Underdown, 'Burke's Bristol Friends', *op.cit.*, pp. 141-146; *Slavery Obscured*, pp. 114-115, 133; Bristol Merchant Venturers' members' lists accessible on <http://www.rootsweb.com/~atgwgw/resources/mvlist2.html>.

⁴² {'Philip C. had a very good understanding, but it did not appear to have undergone the same polish as his brother's—a polish far surpassing every other, I mean religion....'} This is a passage copied from SFC's original journal and reprinted as excerpts in 'Extracts from the Journal of Sarah Fox respecting William Cookworthy' in {Harrison}, *Memoir of William Cookworthy*, (London: William and Frederick and Cash; Edinburgh: John Menzies; Dublin: J.M'Glashen-J.B. Gilfin, 1854) Appendix 2.

⁴³ 'Whilst at Plymouth we visited our friends, and engaged the conversation of Wm Cookworthy, at whose house on a First-Day {Sunday} were held evening meetings. On that previous to our departure he was affectingly engaged for our preservation and support under affecting scenes, through which he had a sense of our having to pass. This might be said to be "as bread cast upon the waters, found after many days."' 'Extracts from the Journal of Sarah Fox respecting William Cookworthy' *ibid*.

⁴⁴ George Prideaux, the Quaker son of Walter Prideaux one of Exeter's most energetic slave traders according to Nigel Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade: Comprising the Log of the Daniel and Henry of 1700 and accounts of the slave trade from the minor ports of England 1698-1725*, London: Pimlico 1998), p. 32.

⁴⁵ Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791) a Methodist who employed Whitefield as her Chaplain. Selina founded a college for ministers at Trevecca in Wales which later removed to Cheshunt. She had established a number of chapels including one in Bristol and one in Bath, the latter chapel building still survives. *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. By a Member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings* [i.e. Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour]. Fourth thousand. [With introductions by J. K. Foster.] 2 vol. (W.E. Painter: London, 1839), 1906.

⁴⁶ Matthew Wright, a Bristol Quaker, was listed as a 'merchant' in 1788 in Bristol's first abolitionist committee, see *Slavery Obscured*, p. 139.

⁴⁷ Probably Mary Brotherton Brook (1726-1782) whose *Reasons for the Necessity of Silent Waiting, in order to the solemn worship of God* of 1774 is said to argue against ceremony and public worship in favour of silent communion with God. The work was published in London, Dublin, New York and Philadelphia and the 1774 edition is listed in the British Library Catalogue as published by Mary Hinde; Janet Todd (eds), op.cit., p. 59.

⁴⁸ An Emanuel Elam appears to have been listed as one of the original subscribers of the Leeds Infirmary in 1772 and seems to be a member of the Quaker Elam family, who were bankers in Bridlington after 1783. David Pratt, *English Quakers*, p. 83;

http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~ruthann/UK/leeds_infirmary_1772.htm and <http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~celam/1997-Elam-L-Posts.htm>.

⁴⁹ This was the Quaker gun manufacturer who was also a member of the Lunar Society and involved in the development of the Birmingham Canal Co., *CBD*; Pratt, p. 112.

⁵⁰ This would be Benjamin West (1738-1820) American-born Quaker painter who was appointed as historical painter to George III (1772-1801), was a founder of the Royal Academy (1768), who in 1792 he succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as its president. His paintings include *The Death of General Wolfe* (1771) and Penn's *Treaty with the Indians* (1772); and *Death on a Pale Horse* (1817), which anticipated developments in French romantic painting. *CDB*; <http://www.ibiblio.org/wm/paint/auth/west/>.

⁵¹ A master glover and prominent Quaker in Worcester who died in 1802 according to the DQB. See also

http://www.thisisworcestershire.co.uk/worcestershire/archive/2002/10/28/wen_news_features_memory275ZM.html and <http://www.silk.net/personal/gordonb/bevingtonpapers.htm>.

I cannot find any information on E. or Betsy Bevington whom SFC also mentions in the journal.

⁵² A village in Worcestershire.

⁵³ A village in south Gloucestershire near to Bristol.

⁵⁴ The grotto was constructed in the early eighteenth century by the Quaker merchant Thomas Goldney at Goldney House in Clifton and is a delightful construction whose walls are covered with Bristol diamonds (a local rock crystal) and with seashells garnered from the Caribbean. See P.K. Stembridge, *Goldney: a house and a family*. (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1991); M. Dresser and S. Giles (eds.) *Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery. Catalogue of the Exhibition A Respectable Trade? Bristol and Transatlantic Slavery at the City Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol 6 March - 2 September 1999, with additional material*, (Bristol: Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery, 2001), p. 97.

⁵⁵ See Robert Goodbody's *Journal of 1855: 1788*: 'This year John and Mary Helton removed to Bristol from Mountmellick, {Ireland} having an auction before they went. They lived in the house where Anthony Pim since lives, and Jonathan went to live in after his son James marriage. John Helton and Johnathan Pim were partners in the tanning business. My parents had a great regard for John and Mary Helton and were sorry to lose them as neighbours when they went to England.'

Accessible at <http://www.mountmellick.net/history/goodbodypage05.htm>.

⁵⁶ The Bristol Friends had their own workhouse (as distinct from the one set up by the Bristol Corporation of the Poor in 1698) where they ran a school and a cloth factory.

⁵⁷ This may well have been Patience Lovell Wright ('M. Wright' possibly meaning 'Madam Wright' whose waxworks are thus described in

<http://www.fsbassociates.com/fsg/othercivilwar.htm>:

'Patience Lovell Wright became a successful artist in her native America before she emigrated to England in 1771. Like many colonial women who became self-supporting, Wright did not start with a career in mind. When her husband died in 1769, leaving her with four children and another one on the way, she turned her energies to sculpting wax figures, and developed a "traveling waxworks", which she took on tour from Boston to Charleston. Disillusioned by her prospects in the colonies, she emigrated to London, where she joined a small circle of American artists in residence and in vogue such as Jonathan Copley and Benjamin West.'

<http://www.fsbassociates.com/fsg/othercivilwar.htm>. See also

<http://www.bartleby.com/65/wr/Wright-P.html> and P. Langford, op.cit., p. 609. I have not read Charles Coleman Patience Wright. American artist and spy in George III's London, (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press. 1976), but the title is intriguing.

⁵⁸ A passage from the original journal found in *Memoirs of William Cookworthy*, Appendix 2.

⁵⁹ This is either an allusion to Richard Champion's financial difficulties, brought on in part by the War with America which he had been active in opposing or to his being excluded from the Society of Friends. See Deborah M. Olden, 'Richard Champion and the Society of Friends' *Trans. BGAS*, vol. 102, (1984), pp. 173 and 180-195.

⁶⁰ Harriet Sturgeon (1775-90) married her footman to the scandal of her family. See the Letter from [E.C. Thynne], Viscountess Weymouth [later Marchioness of Bath], Longleat [Wiltshire], to [W.H.C. Cavendish-Bentinnck], 3rd Duke of Portland; 19 Nov. 1764 in Part 17: *Papers of Isaac Strutt - Charles Watson-Wentworth, 2nd Marquess of Rockingham* at http://mss.library.nottingham.ac.uk/cats/port_3rdduke17cat.html states what the settlement was; speculates that she will now be repenting; expresses pity for her family; see also the correspondence regarding her marriage settlement in the Fitzwilliam Papers at University College, Dublin.

<http://www.ucd.ie/~archives/html/homepage/collections/fitzwilliam-family.htm>.

⁶¹ Samuel Nottingham (1716?-1787). Originally from Wellingborough, Northants, he became a Quaker minister (i.e. was recognised for his eloquence and travelled to various Quaker meetings) in 1739. He visited the New England in 1747 and thence to the Caribbean island of Tortola and finally arrived in Ireland in 1749. That year he returned to Tortola, married Mary Hunt, the Quaker widow of the former Lieutenant-Governor there, and the couple then visited Barbadoes. He travelled between the Caribbean, America and England for the following decade. He was a slave-owner in Barbadoes but sometime around 1776 not only freed his slaves, but made over the ownership of his plantation to them. He eventually settled permanently in Bristol, England after travelling extensively in Ireland. See Charles Francis Jenkins, *Tortola. A Quaker experiment, etc.* (London: Journal of the Friends Historical Society. Supplement no. 13, 1923) cited in DQB.

⁶² This is Thomas Rutter, a Bristol Quaker who lived in Winterbourne. A Thomas Rutter, 'Brush and Bellows maker' is listed in Sketchley's Bristol Directory of 1775, and records of the Bristol Quakers record that Thomas Rutter had 17 pairs of bellows seized for not paying Church tithes. See BRO, Sufferings SF/A8/1.

⁶³ The chairing of these two politicians who were also prominent Bristol merchants consisted of the populace holding them aloft on chairs and parading them through the streets in a traditional election ritual.

⁶⁴ Possibly Martha Routh, see below.

⁶⁵ Possibly John Pemberton (1727-1795) from Pennsylvania.

⁶⁶ Probably Nicholas Waln (1742-1813), Quaker minister, was the son of Nicholas and Mary Shoemaker Waln. He married Sarah Richardson in 1771. Their children included Joseph R. Waln (1773-1783), Jacob Shoemaker Waln (1784-1847), William and Nicholas Waln. Waln, a lawyer from Philadelphia, reportedly 'gave up his lucrative practice as the result of a profound religious experience in 1772. He began to travel in the ministry in 1774 and made two religious visits to Great Britain in 1783 and 1795.' From home page of Nicholas Waln Family Papers, at Haverford West College Library, in Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA, <http://www.haverford.edu/library/special/aids/waln/>. For a silhouette of Nicholas Waln: <http://www.rootsweb.com/~quakers/quaksilo.htm>.

⁶⁷ John Waring, a Quaker b. 1727, DQB.

⁶⁸ Priscilla H. Gurney was the cousin of the prison reformer Elizabeth Fry and of John Joseph Gurney.

⁶⁹ This is Sampson Lloyd III (1728-1807) the grandson and son of wealthy Quaker iron merchants in Birmingham who had long-standing Bristol connections. His father (Sampson Lloyd II) had married Rachael Champion the daughter of Sarah's uncle Nehemiah Champion. Sampson Lloyd III founded with his father Birmingham's first Bank in 1764, later to become Lloyds Bank. DQB, Angerson, *op.cit.*

⁷⁰ Thomas Pole (1753-1829) was a well-known Bristol Quaker who seems to have been the same Pole who wrote what was effectively the first history of adult education: Pole, T. (1814; 1816) *A History of the Origins and Progress of Adult Schools*, Bristol: C. McDowell and J. Richardson. (Republished by A. G. Kelley (New York) and Woburn Press (London) 1969). <http://www.infed.org/lifelonglearning/b-adhist.htm>.

⁷¹ Possibly the Frogmill Hotel, an old coaching inn in Shipton, Glos., near Cheltenham, which is still in business.

⁷² John Scandrett Harford then of Brunswick Square, Bristol was a wealthy Bristol merchant and banker who bought the Blaise estate in Henbury in 1789. He was involved in the setting up of the Magdalen's Hospital in Bristol (for prostitutes) and in the Society for assisting persons 'confined for small debts'. He is not to be confused with his son who bears his name. See Bristol Record Office Harford papers 28048/S35,S38,P5/1-5; Public Record Office, James Rogers Papers, C107.

⁷³ Possibly George Dilwyn (1738-1820) an American possibly of Burlington New Jersey, the brother-in-law of a Quaker Minister Margaret (Hill) Morris <http://www.wellswideweb.com/AncestryPage.htm>; http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/g/grubb_s.shtml.

⁷⁴ Jonathan Binns (1743-1829) was a merchant in Looe, Cornwall and was related to the Tuckett family through his mother Abigail and married Anna Debell (1735-1814) of Looe. DQB.

⁷⁵ It seems likely the author referred to Jane Bowdler whose 2 volumes of *Poems and Essays, by a lady lately deceased* had recently been published in Bath in 1786. She occasionally contributed poems to a literary salon at Lady Miller's in Batheaston. See Todd (ed.), *Dictionary*, p. 55.

⁷⁶ Doubtless the writings of James Nayler (1617-1660) a much persecuted Quaker made notorious for his gesture of riding into Bristol on an ass in imitation of Christ. For a selection of some of this controversial Friend's writings see <http://www.streccorsoc.org/inayler/nayler.html>. For a hostile account of his activities see A.W. Ward, et al (eds.) *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes (1907-21)*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1907-21), Volume VIII. The Age of Dryden. IV. *The Early Quakers*. § 8. James Nayler. Available online at <http://www.bartleby.com/218/0408.html>.

⁷⁷ Ann Yearsley aka Lactilla, the so-called milkmaid poet of Clifton near Bristol was not yet estranged from her former patron Hannah More when she met Sarah Champion. Recent work

by Mary Waldron has established that Yearsley had been a yeoman farmer but was dispossessed by her landlords, the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol, of which Richard Champion was a member. See Mary Waldron, *Lactilla: the life and writings of Ann Yearsley, milkwoman of Clifton, 1753-1806*. (Athens, Georgia: 1996).

⁷⁸ Philip Thicknesse (1719-1792). Once the Lieutenant-Governor of Landguard Fort in Felixstowe, Thicknesse became a writer and patron of the arts. He was the author of numerous works including a biography of his friend Thomas Gainsborough (whose 1760 portrait of Thicknesse's wife is better remembered than Thicknesse himself). His various publications include *Man mid-wifery analysed*; *Essays to fashionable diseases*; *Observations on the customs and manners of the French Nation in which that nation is vindicated from the misrepresentations of some late writers*; and in 1778 *A New Prose Bath Guide*. His house and garden attracted the intelligentsia including Horace Walpole but see the caricature of him by Gilray at: <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/person.asp?LinkID=mp04463>.

⁷⁹ More research is needed to see if this is Anne Ford Thicknesse who was a talented musician and singer and who wrote about musical glasses. The famous portrait of her by Gainsborough (1760) shows her controversially painted with her legs crossed. See <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/forum/gender2.html>.

It would make sense for the voluble woman SFC describes to have been Anne Ford whose manner and theatrical pedigree (she was an actress in her youth) ran counter to SFC's more austere values.

⁸⁰ This seems to be Joseph Boruwlaski (1740-1837) who was just under a metre high. A violinist who was a favourite of the Prince of Wales, he ended his days in Durham and his portrait statue and violin are to this day in Durham Town Hall.

<http://www.countydurham.com/tourism/durham04.htm>.

⁸¹ Mary Ridgeway was a Quaker minister from Ireland who also appears to have visited Philadelphia in 1790. See Increase Woodward's *Memoirs 1742-1822* for an account of this meeting in which she reports: 'Next morning got to Philadelphia and attended the select meeting at ten o'clock, and four in the afternoon; in which many weighty testimonies were borne, and the deficiencies pointed out which have crept in amongst ministers and elders and Friends of the foremost ranks: remarks were also made concerning their children's running after the fashions of this degenerate age, to the shame of our christian society, and the reproach cast on the blessed Truth. Mary Ridgway, from Ireland, was there and said she had been exercised for days, weeks, and months, on account of a world spirit's having gained ascendancy among us, by our not keeping in the lowliness of true christian humility.'

<http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/iw40.htm>. See also a mention of Mary Ridgway in 'William Savery's Letter to his Wife, Respecting the Printing of his Testimonies'. *The Friend*, (Philadelphia) Vol. XXIV, No. 52 (Ninth month seventh, 1851), p. 415.

<http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qhoa/ws10.htm>; DQB.

⁸² Possibly Rebecca Jones (1739-1818) a teacher and Quaker minister from Philadelphia whose life (along with those of Jones, Rachel Hicks, Elizabeth Fry and Lucretia Mot) is discussed in Maureen Graham, *Women of Power and Presence: the Spiritual Formation of Four Quaker Women Ministers*, Pendle Hill pamphlet 294 (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1990). Held at the Philadelphia Yearly meeting of the Society of Friends, see <http://www.pym.org/library/lists/lucrmott.html>.

⁸³ Probably Thomas Mills, the Quaker bookseller, abolitionist and father-in-law of Zachary Macaulay.

⁸⁴ The notion that all men will eventually be reclaimed and saved by G-d and that the notion of punishment in the afterlife might not necessarily mean that such punishment is eternal.

⁸⁵ A light carriage made for rapid travel according to Webster's *Dictionary* (1913) cited in <http://www.hyperdictionary.com/dictionary/Whisky>.

⁸⁶ Cowslip Green is in Wrington, Somerset. Hannah More retired there in 1785.

⁸⁷ Alexander Falconbridge's testimony to Parliament had been crucial to Clarkson's propaganda campaign against the slave trade. In 1791 Falconbridge and his wife Anna Maria went to Sierra Leone. On page 128 of this diary, the prince in question was Naimbana the son of the leader of the Temne people. See my *Slavery Obscured*, pp. 171-172.

⁸⁸ Harry Gandy (d.1799) is one of the unsung heroes of the Bristol abolitionist movement. A former slave ship Captain he became a Friend contributed an addendum to one of Anthony Benezet's abolitionist tracts. He continued to work in Bristol to help escaped slaves until shortly before his death. See *GRO*, Granville Sharp Papers, letter from Harry Gandy to Granville Sharp, 4 August 1796 D3549, 13/1/G2.

⁸⁹ Carl Bernhard Wadstrom, a Swedish mineralogist and Chief director of the Assay Office in Sweden who visited the West African coast in 1787 and 1788 to 'make discoveries in botany, mineralogy, and other departments of science'. His publications include *Observations on the Slave Trade and a Description of some part of the Coast of Guinea in company with Dr. A. Sparrman and Capt. Arrehenius*, (London: n.p., 1789); *An essay on colonization, particularly applied to the Western coast of Africa, with some free thoughts on cultivation and commerce; also brief descriptions of the colonies already formed, or attempted in Africa, including those of Sierra Leone and Bulama*, (London, 1794), and various scientific and political works in Swedish and French. He gave evidence to the Privy Council as part of Thomas Clarkson's investigation of the slave trade. See Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: the history of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870*, (London: Picador, 1997) pp. 377, 411-412, 516.

⁹⁰ According to the DQB, Morris Birkbeck (1734-1816) was a prominent Quaker with property in North Carolina. He was a great bibliophile as the journal entry suggests and wrote various tracts and a general catalogue of Friends' writings. His son and namesake (1764-1825) was an abolitionist.

⁹¹ Kingsweston House was the residence of the Southwell family from the eighteenth century and Edward Southwell III was Lord de Clifford.

⁹² A prominent Quaker minister, Sarah Tuke Grubb, (1756-1790) was associated with the Ballitore community in Ireland and later worked closely with Robert Grubb (her husband?) and Jean de Marsillac. See Haverford College Library in Pennsylvania. See Paul and June Schlueter (eds.), *An Encyclopedia of British Women Writers*, revised and expanded ed. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), pp. 291-94, 329-31. For a ms. copy of part of a letter written when she was twenty years old, [ca. 1776] addressed to Richard Shackleton of Ballitore at <http://www.haverford.edu/library/special/aids/englishfrds/#box2>.

⁹³ Jean de Marsillac-French Quaker and abolitionist who, along with Robert Grubb, reportedly tried to establish a Quaker industrial, commercial and artistic community with 80 to 100 workshops at Cambord Castle in France, but the scheme never came to fruition for political reasons. <http://www.utoxia-britannica.org.uk/pages/INTERNAT.html>; see de Marsillac's *Vie de Guillaume Penn*, by Jean Marsillac (Paris, 1791; translated into German by Carl J. Friedrich, Strasburg, 1793) listed in the British Library Catalogue; Marsillac was sent to London in 1788 to forge links with the Society of Friends and helped to develop the first Quaker meeting in France. http://quaker.chez.tiscali.fr/congenie_fr.htm.

⁹⁴ Matthew Wright, A Bristol Quaker was listed as a 'merchant' in 1788 in Bristol's first abolitionist committee and later went into banking. See M. Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, p. 139; Pratt, *English Quakers*, p.122.

⁹⁵ John Dearman followed into his father Richards's ironware firm, Eagle Foundry and was married into the Fox family from Devon. Pratt, p. 112.

⁹⁶ Oliver Goldsmith's (1728-1774) most famous poem 'The Deserted Village' (1770) condemned the social impact of agricultural enclosure and the decline of paternalism on English village life. The portion of the poem said to refer to the uncle of John Byrth begins as follows:

Near yonder copse, where once the garden smil'd,
 And still where many a garden flower grows wild;
 There, where a few torn shrubs the place disclose,
 The village preacher's modest mansion rose.
 A man he was to all the country dear,
 And passing rich with forty pounds a year;
 Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
 Nor e'er had changed, nor wish'd to change, his place;
 Unpractis'd he to fawn, or seek for power,
 By doctrines fashion'd to the varying hour;
 Far other aims his heart had learn'd to prize,
 More skill'd to raise the wretched than to rise.
 His house was known to all the vagrant train;
 He chid their wand'rings but reliev'd their pain;
 The long remember'd beggar was his guest,
 Whose beard descending swept his aged breast;
 The ruin'd spendthrift, now no longer proud,
 Claim'd kindred there, and had his claims allow'd;
 The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,
 Sat by his fire, and talk'd the night away,
 Wept o'er his wounds, or, tales of sorrow done,
 Shoulder'd his crutch and show'd how fields were won.
 Pleas'd with his guests, the good man learn'd to glow,
 And quite forgot their vices in their woe;
 Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
 His pity gave ere charity began.

⁹⁷ Ivy Bridge is in the parish of Ivybridge Devon on the road between Exeter and Plymouth and a copper plate engraving of the bridge with an inn and house nearby by P. Sandby, c. 1780 is reproduced in this volume.

⁹⁸ Bonville lived at no. 4 [St.] James Square in Bristol.

⁹⁹ Catharine Phillips the Quaker missionary who as Catharine Peyton (Payton) served in North Carolina in the mid-1750s, DQB, see introduction to this volume.

¹⁰⁰ Melville Horne (c.1761-c.1841) was the son of an Antiguan barrister and planter and the nephew of Nathaniel Gilbert (c.1721-1774) the pioneer of West Indian Methodism. Horne entered the Wesleyan itinerancy in 1784 and was ordained into the Anglican ministry a short time after on John Wesley's recommendation. In 1786 he succeeded to the curacy at John Fletcher's old parish of Madeley, but retained his connection with Methodism and was appointed Superintendent of the new Wolverhampton circuit in 1787. In 1792 Horne became chaplain of Sierra Leone in West Africa where he joined his second cousin Nathaniel Gilbert junior. He was however unable to adapt to the climate and returned to England in 1793 and published his *Letters on Missions* a year later.

Horne served as Vicar of Olney from 1796 to 1799 and then succeeded the evangelical minister David Simpson at Christ Church Macclesfield. Horne enjoyed a close friendship with Jabez Bunting but this turned to coldness on both sides which culminated in Horne's final break with Methodism in 1809.

He later served Anglican parishes in Essex, Cornwall and Salford.

Source: *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, edited by Donald Lewis (1995) as abridged for the on-line Methodist biography of the John Ryland library of the University of Manchester at <http://rylibweb.man.ac.uk/data1/dg/methodist/bio/bioh.html> accessed 12 December 2002.

¹⁰¹ Nahum (Jerome) one of the minor prophets in the Hebrew Bible. Although Nahum means consolation, the chapter to which SFC refers seem anything but to modern sensibilities. Lines 1-13 are included below:

- 1: Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and robbery; the prey departeth not;
- 2: The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots.
- 3: The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear: and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcasses; and there is none end of their corpses; they stumble upon their corpses:
- 4: Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the wellfavoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts.
- 5: Behold, I am against thee, saith the LORD of hosts; and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will shew the nations thy nakedness, and the kingdoms thy shame.
- 6: And I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazingstock.
- 7: And it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste: who will bemoan her? whence shall I seek comforters for thee?
- 8: Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea?
- 9: Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were thy helpers.
- 10: Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains.
- 11: Thou also shalt be drunken: thou shalt be hid, thou also shalt seek strength because of the enemy.
- 12: All thy strong holds shall be like fig trees with the first ripe figs: if they be shaken, they shall even fall into the mouth of the eater.
- 13: Behold, thy people in the midst of thee are women: the gates of thy land shall be set wide open unto thine enemies: the fire shall devour thy bars.

This is taken from the King James version of the Bible and is available on-line from the University of Virginia Library at:

<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/relig.browse.htm>.

¹⁰² Elizabeth Johnson (1720-98). Samuel Rogal writes in his *A Biographical Dictionary of 18th century Methodism* (Edwin Mellen Press 1997) that Johnson 'was the daughter of a West India Merchant resident in Bristol. Disinherited by her father when she joined the Methodists, she lived on an annuity bequeathed to her by her uncle. Johnson was described by the Wesleyan minister John Valton as one of the three most pious women in Methodism. Her home in Hilgrove Street was a centre of the movement in the city of Bristol and she was a described by John Wesley as 'deep in grace, and lives like an angel here below'. Methodist biography of the John Ryland library of the University of Manchester at <http://rylibweb.man.ac.uk/data1/dg/methodist/bio/bioh.html>. Johnson was one of the conservative wing of Methodism opposed to separation from the Church of England. Her memoir was published in 1799 as 'An Account of Mrs Elizabeth Johnson' (Bristol: W. Pine, 1799). As spiritual accounts go, it is more dreary and full of self-abnegation than most. A close friend of Charles Wesley, Johnson also tried to establish a mission in West Africa in liaison with the Moravians after hosting two shipwrecked young Africans from Old Calabar whom Charles Wesley had converted. See my *Slavery Obscured*, pp. 84-85 and John Ryland Library, Eliz. Johnson to C. Wesley 6 July 1774, DDCW2/8.

¹⁰³ Socinianism, a doctrine based on the thought of Arius (c. 250-336) as revised by Faustus Socinius (1539-1604) enjoyed a revival in rationalist circles in England in the 1760s and 1770s. It denied the Holy Trinity, and thereby Jesus' divine status and the virgin birth. Socinianism usually went hand in hand in this period with political radicalism as exemplified by Unitarians like Dr. Joseph Priestley. See J.C.D. Clarke, *English Society 1688-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 281.

¹⁰⁴ Probably W. Lunnell, a Congregationalist merchant who lived in Brunswick Square and attended the Castle Green Meeting House, see *Slavery Obscured*, p. 139.

¹⁰⁵ Mary Stoke Dudley was a Wesleyan Methodist but went over to the Quakers. Her letter to John Wesley defending the attending of Quaker meetings in 1772 shows a spirited and independent attitude toward the great man. See the letter at

<http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/q1718a.htm>.

See also her *Life of Mary Dudley, including an account of her religious engagements and extracts from her letters*. [Edited by Elizabeth Dudley.] (London, 1825), cited in the British Library catalogue.

¹⁰⁶ Abraham Shackleton (1697-1771) Yorkshire Quaker who; opened boarding school at Ballitore, Co. Kildare, 1726 and was headmaster to 1756; grandfather of Mary Leadbeater the Irish Quaker writer and anti-slavery campaigner who lobbied Edmund Burke (a former pupil at Ballitore and close family friend) over the slave trade. DQB.

The catalogue of letters to and from Mary Leadbeater is accessible through the Yale University Library,

<http://webtext.library.yale.edu/beinflaf/osborn.BALLITOR.HTM> and the catalogue of other correspondence from her held at the University of California at Santa Barbara,

<http://findaid.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf509nb32t/C02/30139520>

shows that Mary Leadbeater personally knew a number of people who were friends of Sarah Champion Fox, including Samuel Neale, Morris Birkbeck, and probably Elizabeth Johnson. She was aware of the writing of Olaudah Equiano. Her sister seems to have preached in Bristol as reported in SCF's journal. See also Nini Rogers, 'Two Quakers and a Utilitarian: the Reaction of three Irish women Writers to the Problem of slavery 1780-1807', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 100C, (2002) pp. 140-144.

¹⁰⁷ Charles Wesley (1707-1788) was John Wesley's brother and fellow evangelical, best known for many of the 6,000 plus hymns he composed. His house in Charles Street, Bristol has recently been restored as a museum.

¹⁰⁸ John and Joseph Biddle were Quakers related to Sampson Lloyd became partners in three different chemical firms and John Biddle also was involved in glassmaking. David Pratt, *English Quakers*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁹ Anna Fry née Portsmouth (1732/3-1803) was the daughter of the Basingstoke apothecary to whom Joseph Fry was apprenticed. DQB.

¹¹⁰ St. Peter's Hospital was Bristol's notoriously ghastly dumping ground for the infirm poor. SCF and other Quakers, being assiduously Protestant, drop the 'Catholic' word 'Saint' when referring to the hospital or to any street name, e.g. St. James's Square.

¹¹¹ George Champion (1774-1817) was the son of Sarah's uncle Nehemiah.

¹¹² The wreck of this large East-Indiaman bound for the Caribbean on the 26th January 1796 is fully described in Hearder, G. and J. *The South Devon Monthly Museum*. Plymouth: February 1st, 1836. VOL. VII. No. 38. pp. 50-53 and there is also a woodcut of the wreck at <http://www.devon.gov.uk/library/locstudy/sc2244.html>.

¹¹³ A Bristol Quaker distiller. David Pratt, *English Quakers*, p. 66.

¹¹⁴ This American Quaker published a number of sermons the best known of which, 'The Everlasting Gospel' was the inspiration for Elizabeth Fry (née Gurney) to pursue her career in philanthropy and reform. Nine of his sermons including this one as well as a delightful letter to his life about the trials of being misrepresented by printers ('A Letter regarding the printing of his Testimony' (13 June 1794)) are online on

<http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qhoa/18th.htm>.

¹¹⁵ William Wilberforce (1759-1833) M.P. for Hull and later Yorkshire, he was a member of the Anglican Evangelical 'Clapham sect'. He worked for the 'reformation of manners' in British society according to his religious principles. From 1788 to 1825 he led the

Parliamentary wing of the anti-slavery movement working closely with the Quakers. *DNB*, *CBD*.

¹¹⁶ The house in Winterbourne belonging to Thomas Rutter. (Thanks to Roger Angerson for this information.)

¹¹⁷ A member of the Bristol Society of Friends, who was a tanner, BRO, Sufferings, SF/A8/1.

¹¹⁸ This was probably Sarah Shackleton 1787-1821 and sister of Mary Leadbeater, whose letters and journal are at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

<http://findaid.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf509nb32r/C02/30139520>.

¹¹⁹ A Quaker School in Winscombe, North Somerset near Bristol. It was founded in 1699 and is still open at time of writing.

¹²⁰ Probably Hannah Barnard of Nantucket. '...Hannah Barnard of Hudson, a native of Nantucket, of the last century, was regarded one of the greatest ministers in the Society. She travelled in England, and was deposed by the ruling powers "in the society of course," for daring to express doubts of the Divine authority of the Jewish Wars - as well as more openly than Friends were wont, to deny the atonement and scheme of Salvation. She returned home to Hudson and was much respected thro' a long life for her good works.' This is from a letter by Lucretia Mott the American suffragist and reformer to fellow suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 16 March 1855. It is accessible online at the Lucretia Mott Papers Project of Pomona College, California, <http://www.mott.pomona.edu/>.

¹²¹ Martha Routh (1747-1817) was an English Quaker minister who with another acquaintance of Sarah Champion Fox, Jean de Marsillac, would in 1796 support the inclusion of 'Negro' members into the Society of Friends at the Friends Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia - Henry Cadbury 'Negro Membership in the Society of Friends (1) (Part Two)', *Journal of Negro History*, 21, (1936), pp. 151-213 on-line at

<http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/hcjh2.htm>. Routh's *Memoir of the Life, Travels and Religious Experience of Martha Routh* (W. Alexander and Son: York, 1824) was first published in 1822 and went through 3 editions according to the British Library Catalogue. See

<http://www.sgmm.org/history/quakerbooks.html>. For letters from her in the Scattergood family papers at Haverford College, Pennsylvania

<http://www.haverford.edu/library/special/aids/scattergood/>. See

<http://www.rootsweb.com/~quakers/quaksilo.htm> for her silhouette.

<http://www.sgmm.org/history/quakerbooks.html>.

¹²² Robert Raikes Jr. (1735-1811) of Gloucester. An Anglican Evangelical he took over the *Gloucester Journal* in 1757 from his father and later founded a Sunday School for the city's chimney sweeps and other poor children, following with other similar schools for children. His example led to the establishment of the Sunday Schools movement in 1780 and inspired Hannah More's efforts in Somerset. *CBD*; <http://www.infed.org/walking/wa-raikes.htm>.

¹²³ Sands preached throughout Europe with William Savery and was the subject of the *Journal of the Life and Gospel Labors of David Sands with Extracts from his Correspondence*, (London: Charles Gilpin, 1848).

¹²⁴ Richard Reynolds (1735-1816) was the son of a Quaker by the same name. Richard Reynolds II was a Bristol Quaker iron manufacturer who married the daughter of Abraham Derby and in 1763 took over the management of the Coalbrookdale Ironworks on his father-in-law's death. An abolitionist, he is best well remembered in Bristol for his philanthropic work including the founding of the Bristol Samaritan Society, the funding of the orphan asylum, Royal Infirmary and Alms-Houses in the city, and the clearance of the debts of small debtors who had been imprisoned. His papers are at the University of Liverpool Library; see Pratt, *English Quakers*, p. 66. <http://sca.lib.liv.ac.uk/collections/rathbone/reyn.htm>; BRO, 2/T24, Pease, p. 9.

¹²⁵ Those professing a belief in a supreme deity but rejecting a belief in the New Testament or any other form of revealed religion.

¹²⁶ Dr. Thomas Beddoes (1760-1808) had a 'pneumatic institute' at Clifton for the cure of diseases by the inhalation of gases, with Humphrey Davy as his assistant. *CBD*. Quite possibly the Dr. Priestley referred to was the famous chemist and fellow radical, Joseph Priestley, associated with the discovery of oxygen.

¹²⁷ A Quaker School in Winscombe, North Somerset near Bristol. It was founded in 1699 and is still open at time of writing.

¹²⁸ This excerpt gives some indication of the affinity between SCF's Quakerism and Law's theology:

There is no Peace, nor ever can be for the Soul of Man but in the Purity and Perfection of its first created Nature; nor can it have its Purity and Perfection in any other Way than in and by the *Spirit of Love*. For as Love is the God that created all Things, so Love is the Purity, the Perfection, and Blessing of all created Things; and nothing can live in God but as it lives in Love. Look at every Vice, Pain, and Disorder in human Nature; it is in itself nothing else but the Spirit of the Creature turned from the *Universality* of Love to some *self-seeking* or *own Will* in created Things. So that Love alone is, and only can be, the Cure of every Evil, and he that lives in the Purity of Love is risen out of the Power of Evil into the Freedom of the one Spirit of Heaven. This work was written around 1737, a slightly later edition of which is available on-line at: http://www.ccel.org/l/law/spirit_of_love/love.htm.

¹²⁹ This was probably Catherine Gurney, a Quaker member of the Barclay family and mother of the famous prison reformer, Elizabeth Gurney Fry.

¹³⁰ Lucy Barclay (1757-1817) married Samuel Galton the gun manufacturer and was the mother of the Bristol-based abolitionist Mary Ann Galton Schimmelpenninck and the grandmother of the eugenicist Francis Galton. <http://www.francisgalton.com/chapter1.pdf>.

¹³¹ Probably Maria Henrietta Bowdler (1754-1830) the sister of that famous expurgator of Shakespeare, Thomas Bowdler. She was an evangelical writer and member of the bluestocking circle most noted for her *Pen Tamar: or, The History of an Old Maid*. (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830). See Elizabeth Mavor, *The ladies of Llangollen: a study in romantic friendship*. (London: Penguin, 1971).

¹³² I have not been able to find out anything about this Museum-but it might be the Lever Museum of Natural History mentioned in Paul Langford's *A Polite and Commercial People*, p. 609.

¹³³ An enema.

¹³⁴ John Bunyan (1628-1688) wrote *The Pilgrim's Progress*, one of the popular books in England, about his allegorical hero Christian's journey through the world and to salvation.

¹³⁵ Willem Sewel, *The History of the rise, increase and progress of the Christian people called Quakers, ... written originally in Low-Dutch by W. Sewel, and by himself translated into English. Now revis'd, etc.* (J. Sowle: London, 1722) reprinted 1725, 1774, BLC.

¹³⁶ An industrial district near St. Mary Redcliffe Church in Bristol.

¹³⁷ Probably the Magdalen Hospital in Bristol founded in 1801.

¹³⁸ John Birtell was a member of the Moravian Church in St. James's parish. He made his money from a tanning and leatherworks business and was noted for his philanthropic activities. See my 'Sisters and brethren: power, propriety and gender among the Bristol Moravians, 1746-1833', *Social History [London]*, 21 (1996), pp. 304-29.

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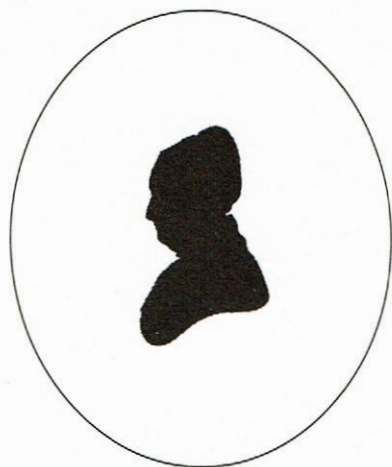
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SARAH FOX (*née* Champion)
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